**University of Alberta**

# Assimilation and Retention of Ethnic Identity Through Leisure

by

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**Abstract**

The research presented in this thesis tackles the leisure behaviour of recent immigrants with emphasis on post-arrival changes in participation and on the role of assimilation in the leisure experience. The impact of perceived discrimination on leisure is also analysed. Empirical sections are based on a questionnaire survey of 264 recent immigrants from Poland and on interviews with 13 immigrants, conducted in Edmonton, Alberta. The thesis consists of four papers that deal with the changes in leisure behaviour following immigration, the evolution of constraints on leisure along with changing assimilation levels, the impact of discrimination on leisure, and the decision-making process leading to discrimination.

The findings indicate that leisure participation changes significantly following immigration due to emerging opportunities, environmental differences, shattered social networks, and post-arrival depression. Leisure simultaneously allows to retain some elements of native culture and facilitates assimilation. Immigrants not only experience certain unique leisure constraints, but also many common constraints play for them a greater role than for the mainstream. Moreover, some constraints experienced by immigrants diminish along with the increasing assimilation level. White ethnics tend to experience less frequent discrimination in leisure settings than visible minorities, which can be attributed to difficulties with their identification and less competitive nature of leisure engagements. Moreover, white ethnic minorities experience less extreme forms of discrimination than visible groups. However, the expectation of discrimination often leads to "ethnic enclosure" in leisure, which can limit the choice of partners and reduce the awareness of leisure opportunities. A model of individual-level discriminatory

behaviour is developed. Individuals are assumed to form a stable long-term perception of a minority group. Long-term perception is combined with incoming information input to produce a short-term attitude. Individuals with a hostile short-term attitude are assumed to derive satisfaction from discrimination. However, the potential perpetrator must also consider the consequences of his actions. Thus, certain level of hostility may produce various forms of discrimination depending on the operational conditioning factors. The framework explains the differences in discrimination between work and leisure and discrimination in leisure as a function of the cultural content of activities and the nature of interactions.

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# CHAPTER 1

## Introduction

## 1.1 Background

The formation of the US Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission (ORRRC) in 1958 is commonly believed to mark the beginning of leisure studies as a recognised field of social enquiry in North America (Burton & Jackson, 1999). While individual pieces of research on human leisure behaviour had been published before World War II or even earlier (Lundberg, Komarovsky, and McInerney, 1934; Veblen, 1899), the ORRRC work pioneered systematic treatment of the subject and contributed to a surge of interest in leisure behaviour among social scientists. By providing a unique source of information on recreation behaviour, the ORRRC reports (ORRRC, 1962) facilitated a number of early studies, many of which focused on establishing a link between socio-economic characteristics and recreation participation. The establishment of new academic journals devoted to research on leisure behaviour during the late 1960s and in the 1970s accelerated the development of the field and contributed to broadening its scope beyond the study of the socio-economic correlates of recreation participation. Furthermore, it brought about increased methodological sophistication (Burton & Jackson, 1999).

During the 1980s the focus in the field shifted away from the study of participation patterns towards other aspects of human leisure experience, such as constraints on leisure, the benefits of leisure, and the meaning of leisure to the participant. Quality of the leisure experience and its contribution to the general well being rather than the frequency of engagement began to play a more central role in the questions addressed by researchers. Simultaneously, the traditional image of leisure as a peaceful and "sacred" experience was rapidly fading and some not-so-pleasant aspects of leisure life, such as deviant leisure and conflict in recreation, gained recognition as legitimate areas of study (Burton & Jackson, 1999). These developments coincided with the gradual acceptance of the feminist perspective in leisure studies, combined with a growing interest in special populations issues. In particular, research on problems related to disabilities, ageing, gender, ethnicity and race and their role in shaping leisure experience became an integral part of the field. The expansion of scope was reflected in some important methodological advances. Once marginal groups were accepted as legitimate objects of study and the "mainstream" quantitative research techniques proved

to be unable to provide answers about certain characteristics of these populations, alternative methodologies based on the interpretive paradigm were widely adopted.

Research on the leisure experience of ethnic and racial minorities is closely tied to developments in the field of leisure studies proper (see Gramann & Allison, 1999, for a recent review). While isolated references to literature on leisure behaviour of ethnic and racial minorities can be traced back to the early 1960s, systematic research in the area did not begin until more than a decade later. Beginning with the initial surge in interest during the late 1970s, research on the leisure of ethnic and racial groups has been developing at a rapid pace not only in terms of the sheer volume of publications, but also in terms of methodological sophistication. Despite its relatively short history, by the end of the 1980s research on the leisure of ethnic and racial minorities had managed to earn wide recognition as both a legitimate and an important part of the broader field of leisure studies.

One may argue that two factors have likely contributed to the significant increase of the subfield's popularity among researchers. First, as the field of leisure studies matured, its scope extended to include the study of leisure experience of special populations. Various dimensions of diversity were recognised as valuable sources of knowledge not only about the problems specific to minorities, but also about the leisure behaviour of the mainstream itself. Along with gender, age and disability related issues in leisure, studying the leisure experience of ethnic and racial minorities was a natural route of expansion beyond the problems of the so-called mainstream.

Second, the evolving demographic structure of the North American population might have contributed to the increased awareness of the role played by racial and ethnic diversity. Over decades the above-average birth rates experienced by certain minorities, combined with a constant inflow of immigrants, tend to dramatically shift the ethnic and racial composition of the society. Currently more than a quarter of the population of the United States is accounted for by racial minorities and by Hispanics and approximately 10 per cent of the population is foreign born (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994). In Canada, almost half of the population growth is due to immigration (Statistics Canada, 1997). Given the spatial concentration of some minorities, combined with their high

population growth rates, it is projected that in as little as two decades Caucasians will be able to claim minority status in certain American states (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994). However, it is not only the sheer numbers of ethnic and racial minorities that attract attention. Demographic changes occur simultaneously with a certain degree of political and economic emancipation of these marginalized groups, which in turn creates a pressure for action (Gramann and Allison, 1999). Provision of leisure-related services tailored to the needs of minorities can be seen as the most apparent reaction to the changing role of racial and ethnic groups in the North-American society. However, it is fair to argue that the potential implications of the increasing recognition of minorities for the field of leisure studies can go far beyond research aimed at assisting providers of services.

The observation that racial and ethnic minorities often differ from the Anglo-Saxon mainstream in terms of their participation rates in a variety of leisure activities is nothing new. In fact, evidence for such disparities in participation patterns can be found in the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission (ORRRC) reports or even in some earlier studies (e.g. Jones, 1927). However, no methodical rationalisation for the observed variations in participation rates had been offered until the publication of Washburne's seminal paper in 1978 (Floyd, 1998). Washburne proposed two distinct but non-exclusive explanations for the phenomenon. First, minorities may have restricted access to the resources required for participation due to a disadvantaged economic position in society (marginality). Second, minorities may have different preferences for leisure activities than the mainstream due to cultural differences (ethnicity). Washburne's *marginality-ethnicity thesis* was the first original theoretical contribution in the subfield and as such it played a pivotal role in shaping much of the research on leisure of ethnic and racial minorities in the next two decades.

The initial emphasis was on investigating the implications of Washburne's theory for explaining observed differences in the participation patterns between Blacks and the Anglo-Saxon mainstream (Klobus-Edwards, 1981; Stamps and Stamps, 1985). However, the scope was soon extended to Hispanics and other minority groups (Allison & Geiger, 1993; Floyd & Gramann, 1993; Floyd, Gramann & Saenz, 1993; Hutchison, 1987;

McMillen, 1983). During the late 1980s research on the leisure experience of ethnic and racial minorities began to evolve beyond the marginality-ethnicity perspective. West (1989) proposed that, besides marginality and ethnicity, perceived discrimination might be partially responsible for the distinctive leisure behaviour of minorities. Furthermore, as the subfield matured, attention began to shift towards aspects of leisure experience other than differences in participation patterns. Rather than focus solely on participation, researchers began to investigate motivations (Carr and Williams, 1993) and constraints underlying the observed behaviour (Karlis, 1993; Philipp, 1995; Rublee and Shaw, 1991), the meaning of leisure pursuits (Allison, 1988; Allison and Geiger, 1993; Carr and Williams, 1993), the styles of participation (Hutchison, 1987; Irwin, Gartner, and Phelps, 1990), as well as the link between assimilation and leisure behaviour (Floyd & Gramann, 1993, 1995; Floyd, Gramann & Saenz, 1993)

While the subfield of leisure behaviour of racial and ethnic minorities has undoubtedly expanded and matured since the publication of Washburne's marginality-ethnicity paper, it stills suffers from a number of limitations, some of which may be directly attributed to the field's relatively short history. Probably the most pressing problem is the absence of a coherent and well developed body of theory. In particular, little has been done to expand the original marginality-ethnicity framework or to reconcile it methodically with the emerging work on aspects of leisure experience other than participation (Floyd, 1998; Hutchison, 1988).

Besides the fundamental issue of an underdeveloped theoretical framework, research on the subject is affected by certain more narrow, but still quite essential problems. One of the common inadequacies of research on the leisure of racial and ethnic minorities is the implicit homogeneity assumption applied to the minority under study or the "mainstream" benchmark itself. While racial and ethnic groups do share certain characteristics, they can hardly be considered to be culturally monolithic and consequently conclusions based on their alleged homogeneity may be often misleading. A somewhat related problem is the application of ambiguous definitions of race and ethnicity, combined with a lack of effort to establish individual effects of each of the two factors on leisure behaviour. Although ethnicity may coincide with minority race, the

concepts are not synonymous and they may affect leisure of minorities through completely different channels. For instance, members of racial minorities may be identified and possibly discriminated against in circumstances where such identification would not be possible in the absence of visible racial characteristics. A parallel problem exists in the treatment of immigrants as opposed to native-born members of ethnic minorities. While the leisure behaviour of immigrants can be significantly different from that of their native born counterparts, little emphasis is placed on the phenomena specific to the immigration experience and on the subsequent accommodation process.

It can also be argued that the literature on the leisure of ethnic and racial minorities might greatly benefit from extending its current spectrum of methodological approaches. Given the difficulties associated with designing appropriate research instruments for studying problems specific to minority populations, combined with the sensitive nature of many such problems, the application of qualitative techniques may prove invaluable both as a stand-alone research tool and in combination with standard quantitative surveys.

## 1.2 Scope and rationale

In this thesis I attempt to address some of the inadequacies of the existing body of research on the leisure experience of ethnic and racial minorities. The thesis is based on a study utilising both qualitative interviews and quantitative surveys conducted among recent immigrants from Poland residing in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. Throughout most of the 1980s Polish nationals constituted Canada's second largest immigrant group (Immigration Statistics, 1989). Consequently, a large number of Polish minority members are recent immigrants, who have settled in Canada since 1979. Unlike several previous immigration waves that consisted mainly of individuals with an agricultural background, this major influx of settlers was dominated by relatively well educated city dwellers. Their decision to emigrate was determined to a large degree by Poland's deteriorating economy and political repression during the period surrounding the declaration of martial law in December of 1981 (Heydenkorn, 1990). The social diversity of the Polish minority as well as its relatively large size makes it an ideal group for analysing processes related to prolonged and direct cross-cultural contacts between an immigrant population and the host society. Furthermore, the fact that Polish immigrants are not a racial minority, yet

they exhibit significant cultural differences in relation to the Anglo-Saxon norm makes them well suited for studying the distinct effects of ethnicity as opposed to race on leisure experience.

The research project that is the basis for this thesis consisted of three stages. In the first stage, a small-scale pilot questionnaire was distributed among recent immigrants from Poland residing in Edmonton, Alberta. In the second stage, a series of semi-structured interviews with thirteen members of the Polish minority in Edmonton was conducted during the late spring and early summer of 1996 . The information gathered in the first two stages was then used to design the questionnaire to be used in a larger scale quantitative survey (Stage 3). Between December 1996 and March 1997 five hundred self-administered questionnaires were distributed by mail among Polish immigrants whose names were randomly selected from a telephone directory. The overall response rate to the survey was over 63 per cent; however, not all completed and returned questionnaires were usable. The analysis of the quantitative data obtained in Stage 3 was assisted by the utilisation of the interview material from Stage 2 of the project.

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the leisure experience of ethnic minorities with emphasis on the issues related to immigration. In particular, the evolution of leisure behaviour following immigration and the role of discrimination in leisure experience of immigrants are analysed. The specific phenomena discussed in the thesis include:

1. *Post-immigration changes in leisure behaviour (Chapter 2)*
   It is generally acknowledged that the immigration experience and the subsequent adaptation processes play important roles in shaping the leisure behaviour of immigrants (Rublee & Shaw, 1991; Tyrone & Shaw, 1997). However, little is known about the specific patterns of change in leisure behaviour that immigrants undergo following their settlement in the host country, including the types of activities likely to be retained and the types of activities likely to be replaced or abandoned. Furthermore, it is uncertain in what respects leisure may facilitate assimilation or how it may act to hinder the process.

2. *Immigration-specific constraints on leisure (Chapter 3)*

   Following their settlement in the host country many immigrants are confronted with a range of adversities that can significantly affect both the psychological well-being and the behaviour of newcomers. It is difficult to argue that the leisure experience will be immune to these factors and, in particular, that the constraints on leisure faced by recent immigrants will remain unaffected by the post-arrival hardships. However, little effort has been devoted to the systematic study of constraints on leisure in immigrant populations. In particular, the patterns of constraints specific to immigrant groups and the evolution of such patterns along with increasing assimilation levels need to be investigated.

3. *Perceived discrimination and leisure behaviour (Chapter 4)*

   While the role of perceived discrimination as a determinant of leisure participation patterns of ethnic and racial groups has been studied quite extensively (Blahna and Black, 1993; Chavez, 1991, 1993, West, 1989), little effort has been devoted to analysing the effects of race as opposed to ethnicity on the types of discriminatory behaviour likely to be experienced and the locations where such acts are likely to be perpetrated. Furthermore, the potential significance of anticipated discrimination and the negotiation of discrimination-related constraints are important issues that have been almost completely overlooked in the literature.

4. *Decision-making involved in discrimination (Chapter 5)*

   Empirical research can be useful in determining the patterns of discrimination in terms of factors such as settings (e.g. leisure vs. work), types of interaction (formal vs. informal), or ethnicity and race of the potential victims, but it is of limited value in explaining the reasons underlying such patterns. While numerous rationalisation of the origins of discriminatory behaviour under certain narrowly defined conditions have been reported in the literature, thus far there have been no attempts to develop a coherent theoretical framework that could account for the general patterns of discrimination relevant to leisure experience. Since discrimination is the end result of a decision-making process by a potential perpetrator, by analysing this very process we can not only rationalise empirical observations, but also design policy tools that

can be used in alleviating the effects of discrimination on leisure participation and enjoyment by members of ethnic and racial minorities.

## 1.3 Thesis outline and format

This research is presented as a collection of four papers, each designed to stand alone. A description of methods and the appropriate literature review is contained in each paper. The abstract for each paper is as follows.

**Chapter 2:**

Changes in Leisure Participation Patterns After Immigration: A paper submitted for publication to *Leisure Sciences.*

It is well documented that the lifestyles of immigrants undergo significant changes during the post-arrival period. While it cannot be argued that the leisure behavior is immune to such changes, very little systematic effort has been devoted to exploring this phenomenon. This paper attempts to fill this gap by focusing on post-immigration changes in leisure behavior. The empirical analysis utilizes a hybrid approach which combines qualitative data obtained in a series of in-depth interviews and quantitative data from a mail questionnaire survey. Both the interviews and the survey were conducted in 1996 among recent immigrants from Poland residing in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. Jackson and Dun's (1988) theoretical framework is used to investigate the general patterns of post-arrival ceasing and starting participation. Survey respondents are classified into ceasers, adders, replacers, and continuers, and the proportions in each group are analyzed and compared with the published general population results. Qualitative data are then used to establish the major causes for the observed post-arrival changes in leisure participation patterns. Then, the analysis is extended to account for activity-based and age-at-immigration-based variations in ceasing and starting behavior. Interview material is used to isolate major immigration-related factors which encourage immigrants in various age groups to modify their leisure participation patterns. It is shown that the observed post-arrival participation changes can be partially attributed to past latent demand, to the decreased role of certain interpersonal constraints, and to being exposed to new leisure opportunities.

Keywords: Ceasing participation, starting participation, immigrants, ethnicity, leisure.

**Chapter 3:**

Stodolska, M. (1998). Assimilation and Leisure Constraints: Dynamics of Constraints on Leisure in Immigrant Populations. *Journal of Leisure Research, 30*, 521-551.

Problems of leisure constraints and issues of leisure behavior among ethnic/racial minorities have been largely regarded as two distinct domains in leisure studies. However, it is difficult to study the leisure of minorities effectively without understanding the constraints that they face. Similarly we cannot claim to have created a complete picture of constraints on leisure unless this picture is applicable to minorities as well as to the mainstream population. In this project an attempt is made to integrate these two subfields of leisure science by studying both the static characteristics and the dynamic nature of constraints experienced by recent immigrants from Poland. A questionnaire survey of 236 Solidarity wave immigrants residing in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada was used to solicit information about leisure behavior and assimilation-related characteristics of this minority group. Dimensions of constraints applicable to immigrant populations were isolated using factor analysis. Respondents were grouped according to their level of acculturation, primary structural assimilation, economic assimilation, and behavioral-receptional assimilation -- a modification of Gordon's (1964) assimilation typology. Then, regression analysis was used to establish relationships between assimilation levels and perceived importance of each type of leisure constraints. Findings of the study suggest that immigrants experience constraints not commonly found in the general population. Furthermore, the paper shows that the perceived importance of certain constraints among immigrants diminishes with increasing assimilation level.

Keywords: Leisure constraints, assimilation, immigrant groups, ethnicity.

**Chapter 4:**

Stodolska, M. & Jackson, E. L. (1998). Discrimination in Leisure and Work Experienced by a White Ethnic Minority Group. *Journal of Leisure Research, 30*, 23-46.

Previous research has shown that discrimination against racial and ethnic groups can affect their leisure choices and compromise benefits that would otherwise be realized if discrimination were absent. However, most studies have focused solely on the problems of racial minorities (Blacks, Hispanics, or Asians). The present multi-stage, multi-method study examines issues related to leisure and discrimination among white ethnic minority group: the Polish community in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. The findings show that the pattern of discrimination experienced by

this group differs from that of well-established racial minorities both in terms of the types of discriminatory treatment and the locations where such treatment takes place. In particular, white ethnic minorities tend to experience markedly less discrimination in leisure settings than in other locations. The low incidence of discrimination in leisure can be partly attributed to "ethnic enclosure" which serves to attenuate the potential for contact with members of other groups and therefore the occasions in which discrimination might be experienced. The study shows that there are important differences between ethnic and racial minorities and emphasizes the need to distinguish between race and ethnicity when conducting research of this kind.

Keywords: Discrimination, ethnic minorities, leisure.

**Chapter 5:**

A Conditioned Attitude Model of Individual Discriminatory Behavior and its Implications for Discrimination in Leisure Settings.

In this paper I present a model of individual-level discrimination that is consistent with the majority of mainstream sociological and psychological theories of discrimination and that reconciles many of the often opposing views, to create a fuller and more realistic picture of the complex phenomenon of discrimination. The mechanism which determines whether discrimination occurs and what form it takes consists of three stages. First, an individual uses his/her information set to derive a long-term perception of a given group or an evaluation of its characteristics. Then he/she combines this pre-existing long-term perception with any new information input that he/she may receive to form a short-term attitude which signifies the degree of hostility or a favorable attitude toward the group members at any particular point in time. Finally, he/she weighs the utility of discrimination against external costs or benefits of such an action and chooses the perceived optimal form of behavior. Using this decision making framework, I develop a series of propositions to show (1) how discrimination patterns may differ in work versus leisure environments, and (2) what are the differences in the nature of discrimination in leisure settings depending on the type of contact between minorities and the mainstream and on the cultural content of activities. Based on the predictions of the model and on the propositions developed in this paper, I propose specific policy recommendations for the reduction of discriminatory behavior in leisure settings.

Keywords: discrimination, ethnicity, race, leisure.

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# CHAPTER 2

## Changes in Leisure Participation Patterns After Immigration

## Changes in leisure participation patterns after immigration*

### 2.1 Introduction

Each year North American society is augmented by hundreds of thousands of new immigrants. Some of them assimilate quickly into the new life and become nearly indistinguishable members of American and Canadian society while others retain significant elements of their cultural traits for extended periods of time. Regardless of the speed and the completeness of assimilation, all immigrants bring with them a baggage of their culture, which includes distinct leisure participation patterns. Both the very fact of immigration and the subsequent processes associated with getting established in the new environment can effectively redefine many aspects of immigrants' lives, including their work and living arrangements, family relations, and their leisure experience. Changes which immigrants introduce into their leisure behavior can be attributed not only to the different physical and social environment of the new country, but also to other immigration-related factors, such as altered family and friendship networks or shifts in socio-economic position. While such changes may appear to be quite profound, most immigrants do retain significant elements of their ethnic heritage. In particular, despite certain post-arrival changes in the participation style and of the leisure repertoire itself, the leisure behavior of immigrants is still heavily influenced by the values and customs of the old country.

Experiences of immigrants both to Canada and to the United States have been documented in countless publications of both a scientific and journalistic nature, as well as in numerous memoirs of the immigrants themselves (e.g., Baker, 1989; Charon, 1989; Heydenkorn, 1990; Mostwin, 1991; Thomas & Znaniecki, 1927). However, issues related to immigration have found surprisingly little attention in the field of leisure studies. While there exists a substantial volume of research devoted to established ethnic minorities and to their often unique leisure behavior (e.g., Allison & Geiger, 1993; Carr & Williams, 1993; Floyd, Gramann & Saenz, 1993; Hutchison, 1987; Irwin, Gartner & Phelps, 1990), the leisure of immigrants remains an almost totally unexplored subject.

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For instance, two recently published major reviews of research on ethnicity and leisure (Floyd, 1998; Gramann & Allison, 1999) do not mention research on immigrant groups as opposed to well established minorities. This apparent lack of interest is somewhat puzzling given the sheer numbers of immigrants that arrive each year in the US and in Canada, combined with the evident impact that the immigration experience has on the leisure behavior of this growing segment of the North American population. It is difficult to argue that the leisure behavior of ethic minority members born in the host country will not differ from that of immigrants of the same ethnic background. Similarly immigrants from different ethnic or racial backgrounds cannot be expected to share identical leisure participation patterns. However, by focusing on problems of recent immigrants we can not only broaden our understanding of leisure participation patterns of immigrant group themselves, but we can also gain important new insights into the problems experienced by the mainstream population. Since the immigration process may magnify and temporally cluster certain undesirable or traumatic life experiences, such as separation from family or a major downward shift in social status, by studying the leisure behavior of immigrants we may be able to gain understanding of the mechanisms used to adapt to or to cope with such events.

This study employs an analytical framework of ceasing and starting leisure activities developed by Jackson and Dunn (1988) to analyze the changes in leisure behavior associated with the immigration experience. In the first part of the analysis, questionnaire survey data are used to identify general patterns of ceasing and starting behavior. Subsequently, the fundamental causes for the observed post-arrival changes are established using interview material. In the second stage, intended to explore the nature of the post-arrival participation changes, the analysis is extended to account for age-based variations in ceasing and starting of leisure activities from several activity categories.

## 2.2 Review of Literature

### *2.2.1 Leisure of Immigrants*

While the literature on the leisure of ethnic and racial minorities has been growing in volume and methodological sophistication, studies tackling issues related to the leisure

behavior of recent immigrants are still scarce. In particular, there has been no systematic effort to address the issue of immigration-induced changes in leisure, including the patterns of starting and ceasing participation in leisure activities following immigration and the motivations underlying any observed behavioral changes. It appears that the only studies that indirectly touched upon these problems were ones by Rublee and Shaw (1991) and by Tyrone and Shaw (1997). Rublee and Shaw (1991) studied Latin American refugee women in Atlantic Canada to examine the factors that affected integration processes among immigrants, such as their constraints on leisure, work, and community participation. While the investigation of immigration-induced changes in leisure behavior was not the main purpose of their study, their observations regarding changes in leisure participation patterns and reasons behind the implementation of such changes by the refugee women are worth noting. Their findings suggested that the lack of community involvement due to language difficulties and new societal norms, combined with the reduced opportunity for socialization in church and neighborhood settings, made the leisure of refugee women more home-oriented, passive, and focused on child-care related activities.

Tyrone and Shaw (1997) identified life concepts central to immigrant women from India and examined the meaning and importance of leisure in the women's lives. Their findings indicated the centrality of family in the life of immigrant women, a sense of lack of entitlement to private free time, and the importance of extended family networks. The breakdown of traditional family structures following immigration was identified not only as an important constraint on leisure but also as a major factor behind the transformation of leisure lives among immigrant women. On the one hand, the women experienced certain new limitations on their leisure participation. For instance, they were no longer able to focus their leisure on family-oriented pastimes and could no longer depend on their extended family members to take care of their children when it was required. On the other hand, they were able to enjoy more freedom from community control in areas such as clothing choice or personal relationships.

The majority of studies dealing with participation in new leisure activities by recent immigrants have tackled the subject from the perspective of assimilation of minority members and have stressed the role of constraints that prevent participation in

desired new activities. In their study on recreation participation and perceived barriers to recreation among recent adolescent immigrants from China, Yu and Berryman (1996) analyzed the favorite leisure activities of young immigrants and the interactions among constraints on leisure, self-esteem, and acculturation. Their findings indicated that the lifestyle and leisure participation patterns of adolescent Chinese immigrants closely mirrored those of their ethnic community. Their leisure was found to be "less organized, less expensive, less physically active, less skill oriented, and more easily accessible than many other types of activities" (Yu & Berryman, 1996, p. 267). However, the study revealed that along with increasing acculturation levels, Chinese adolescent immigrants participated more extensively in sports and affiliated more often with recreational clubs. Thus, the authors conjectured that young immigrants were using leisure as a tool to facilitate their immersion into the new society.

The issue of constraints on leisure experienced by recent immigrants and the evolution of constraints along with advancing assimilation levels was further examined by Stodolska (1998). She tested relationships between assimilation levels and the perceived importance of various dimensions of leisure constraints. The findings suggested that immigrant populations were subjected to certain constraints not found in the general population and that the perceived importance of most leisure constraints was negatively associated with assimilation level. Interestingly, the study provided evidence to contradict the notion of acculturation being the main determinant of constraints for immigrant populations. In fact, other dimensions of assimilation, such as behavioral-receptional assimilation, were found to have a much greater influence on the perceived importance of constraints on leisure than did acculturation.

Although their main focus was not on assimilation as a determinant of perceived constraints, new constraints on leisure experienced by immigrants were also tackled by Rublee and Shaw (1991). The authors isolated a set of immigrant-specific constraints that included inadequate language skills, lack of overall orientation in Canadian everyday life, severe post-arrival social isolation, cultural differences, lack of social interactions, as well as difficulties in obtaining access to affordable and culturally sensitive child care. These constraints were found not only to severely affect the leisure participation of the refugee women, but also to hinder their assimilation into the Canadian society.

The issue of cultural traditions as constraints on the leisure of ethnic minority members was examined in a series of studies of South Asian youth conducted in the United Kingdom during the 1980s (Carrington, Chievers, & Williams, 1987; Glyptis, 1985; Taylor & Hegarty, 1985). All these studies showed that South Asian girls were significantly constrained in many of their leisure pursuits, particularly in out-of-home activities and sports participation, by lack of parental approval, strict dress codes, inadequate availability of single-sex facilities, and by their own religious beliefs. On the other hand, South Asian boys enjoyed a relative freedom from similar restrictions, but at the same time were more likely to experience racial discrimination that interfered with their participation in and their enjoyment of certain leisure activities (Carrington et al., 1987).

Although the existing literature on the leisure of immigrants does tackle certain aspects of immigration-induced changes in leisure behavior, such as the evolution of constraints on leisure following immigration (Stodolska, 1998) or even changes in participation patterns (Rublee & Shaw, 1991), thus far there have been virtually no attempts to approach the subject in a systematic manner. Furthermore, existing research largely ignores the mainstream theories of changes in leisure participation. While these theories may not be directly applicable to immigration-induced participation changes, they do provide a useful framework for studying the transformation of leisure behavior following immigration.

### *2.2.2 Theoretical Background*

While post-arrival changes in leisure participation have not attracted much attention among leisure scientists, issues related to ceasing and starting participation among the general population have been the subject of a considerable volume of both theoretical and empirical work. One of the major analytical developments in the area was a model of leisure participation changes by Jackson and Dunn (1988). By focusing first on ceasing participation in leisure activities, the authors were able to demonstrate that ceasing behavior was one of many interconnected aspects of non-participation, and they linked non-participation to the broader concept of leisure demand. They used Wall's (1981) classification of recreation demand as a foundation of the model. Wall proposed that

recreation demand could manifest itself in one of three ways: (1) *effective demand,* exhibited by individuals who actually participate; (2) *potential demand,* exhibited by individuals who want to participate, but are unable to do so due to external factors such as lack of resources or interpersonal constraints; and (3) *deferred demand*, exhibited by people who would be able and willing to participate if they were aware of the existing opportunities or if the required facilities were available.

However, as Jackson and Dunn (1988) pointed out, besides non-participants who exhibit latent demand (potential or deferred) for a particular activity, there are those who simply have no interest in participating regardless of the presence or absence of any barriers. Consequently, one can isolate three distinct classes of non-participants: (1) those who exhibit potential demand; (2) those who exhibit deferred demand; and (3) those who do not exhibit any form of latent demand. While latent demand can only be exhibited by non-participants, not all such individuals express latent demand. Jackson and Dunn (1988) extended this argument to include ceasing participation. Non-participants comprise former participants and individuals who have never participated in a given activity. While former participants no longer exhibit active demand, they may still exhibit latent demand for the activity. Individuals may be no longer able to participate due to changes in the constraints that they experience without losing interest in the activity itself. On the other hand, not all former participants do exhibit latent demand since in fact some of them may no longer have any motivation to engage in the activity.

Jackson and Dunn argued that ceasing participation could not be regarded as an isolated phenomenon and consequently any analysis of ceasing activity without reference to other aspects of leisure behavior could produce misleading conclusions. Changes in leisure behavior can only be adequately explained when other phenomena, such as initiating new activities, are taken into account. In the empirical part of their study based on a mail survey conducted in Alberta, Canada, Jackson and Dunn combined the patterns of starting and ceasing participation to establish four distinct groups of individuals: (1) quitters, those who had discontinued some activities, but had not started any new ones; (2) replacers, those who both ceased and started some activities; (3) adders, those who had not ceased any activities, but had started new ones; and (4) continuers, who had neither ceased nor started any activities. Quitters accounted for 22.7% of the sample,

replacers for 27.4%, adders for 20.2%, and continuers for 29.7%. By identyfying these categories, Jackson and Dunn were able to differentiate people who had permanently reduced their range of leisure activities, those who had replaced some of their old activities with new ones, and those who had decided to extend their leisure repertoire. The authors proceeded to investigate age-based and activity-based variations in ceasing and starting behavior. Interestingly, they discovered a significant reduction in tendencies to replace leisure activities along with advancing age, as well as an opposite trend with respect to quitting rates.

In their 1989 study, McGuire, O'Leary, Yeh, and Dottavio attempted to replicate and expand Jackson & Dunn's (1988) project. While their study was able to confirm the usefulness of Jackson and Dunn's framework, their empirical findings regarding the proportions of respondents classified into each of the four previously identified categories differed markedly from the ones obtained in the original study. McGuire et al. (1989) attributed these differences to the fact their study focused solely on outdoor recreation, rather than on the full range of leisure activities.

Iso-Ahola, Jackson, and Dunn (1994) used Jackson and Dunn's (1988) framework to test hypotheses, based on Iso-Ahola's (1980, 1989) optimal arousal theory of leisure, regarding the effects of gender and life stage on the aggregate patterns of leisure behavior as well as on intrapersonal patterns of change in leisure. The study confirmed that young people were most likely to start new leisure activities and that this tendency declined markedly with advancing age. Moreover, the authors found a declining trend in the number of ceasers, again related to age. While overall participation declined with age, the data showed that for some classes of activities, such as hobbies and home based recreation, the opposite trend was present. Based on these observations, Iso-Ahola et al. (1994) theorized that even in later stages of life people attempt to satisfy their need for new stimulating experiences. However, this goal could only be achieved through participation in less physically and financially demanding activities already present in one's existing leisure repertoire. Throughout life people use leisure as a mechanism regulating the stimulation level generated by everyday experience. Leisure activities are started, ceased, continued, and replaced in order to obtain a certain optimum level of arousal which may be different for every season of life.

The framework based on Jackson and Dunn's (1988) model provides a useful tool for analyzing post-arrival changes in the leisure repertoire of recent immigrants. The changes in their life that may be attributed to the immigration experience can be expected to make immigrants more likely to cease participation in at least some of their old leisure activities. However, at the same time, immigrants will not only exclude certain activities from their leisure repertoire, but also replace their old pastimes with the ones learned in the new country. Thus, by considering both ceasing and starting participation we can obtain a more comprehensive picture of the post-arrival changes in participation patterns among immigrant populations.

While Jackson and Dunn's (1988) framework can be applied to describe the types of changes that the leisure life of immigrants undergoes following their arrival, Iso-Ahola's (1980,1989) optimal arousal theory makes it possible to analyze the motivations behind the observed changes in behavior and to relate them to the motivations for ceasing and starting participation experienced by the population at large. Iso-Ahola (1980,1989) attributed age-related variations in the likelihood to cease and start leisure activities to the changes in relative importance of novelty versus familiarity in leisure for individuals in different age groups. By applying his theory to an immigrant population we can not only verify whether the optimal arousal motivation mechanism is applicable to post-arrival participation changes, but also isolate certain classes of motivations that are uniquely tied to the immigration experience.

## 2.3 Methods

This paper emerges from the second and third stages of a multi-stage, multi-method research project. Following a small-scale quantitative questionnaire pilot survey (Stage 1), a qualitative component consisting of in-depth interviews was completed (Stage 2). These interviews served as the foundation for the development of a more comprehensive, broader, and larger-scale questionnaire survey (Stage 3) than was conducted in Stage 1. The interview material was again used to interpret the findings of the quantitative study (Stage 3) and to develop new insights into the data which would not have been possible with quantitative techniques alone.

### *2.3.1 Qualitative Stage*

The information in Stage 2 was collected during the late spring and early summer of 1996 in semi-structured in-depth interviews conducted with thirteen members of the Polish community in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. Questions dealing with the changes that had occurred in people's leisure after their settlement in Canada were a component of a broader interview session concerned with problems of assimilation encountered by recent immigrants to Canada.

All interviewees were members of the Solidarity wave of immigration that began in 1979 and lasted throughout the 1980s and the early 1990s. Respondents were initially approached through the author's contacts among the Polish community in Edmonton and were intentionally selected to represent a variety of age, education, and occupational groups. The sample consisted of five women and eight men, ranging from 16 to 50 years of age, with an average age of 32. The longest period of time spent in Canada was sixteen years (in the case of two of the respondents), whereas the youngest interviewee, a 16-year-old girl, had settled in the country only two years prior to the study. The average time of residence in Canada among the respondents was almost nine years. Six of the interviewees were married, one was living in a common-law relationship, two were divorced, and four were single. Respondents represented a spectrum of occupations, mostly of a blue collar or service nature. They included a dentist, a car mechanic, a day-care worker, a store clerk, an electrician, a caretaker, a nurse, three students, two taxi drivers, and one unemployed person.

The interviews were conducted in the home of either the interviewee or the author of the article. Respondents were offered a choice of the questions being asked in Polish or in English. Since all of them felt more confident in their native language, all the interviews were conducted in Polish. Before each interview started, the respondent was informed about the general purpose of the study, the format of the interview, and the topics that the questions would cover. The exact sequence and wording of the questions varied depending on a respondent's personal opinions and characteristics. Additional probes regarding particular subjects were introduced as new topics emerged from the interviews already completed. The interviews lasted between forty-five minutes and four hours and were tape-recorded and later transcribed.

The interviews consisted of a series of fairly broad questions sequenced according to a predetermined but flexible interview schedule. Respondents were encouraged to elaborate on issues related to the questions as well as to express their opinions about other matters that they believed to be relevant. Each question was followed by probes designed to gain additional insight into the opinions and characteristics of a particular interviewee. By allowing respondents to express their personal views freely, the interviewer was able to learn about new phenomena, discuss their significance with interviewees, and address them in subsequent interviews with other respondents.

In the section of the interview dealing with the issues of leisure and recreation, interviewees were asked to describe how they usually spend their free time and to elaborate on the reasons behind their preferences. Respondents were also asked whether they considered their leisure to be similar to that of a "typical Canadian" and to elaborate on any differences. Furthermore, interviewees were asked whether they had started participating in any leisure or recreational activities that were either unknown or highly unpopular in Poland, whether they participated in any leisure or recreational activities that were highly popular in Poland but largely unknown in Canada, and whether there were any leisure activities in which they had participated in Poland but which they had abandoned after their settlement in Canada. In addition, interviewees were asked about any activities in which they did not participate, but wanted to start participating. In particular, I was interested to learn how strong an effect things such as cultural differences, unfamiliar surroundings, language difficulties, financial difficulties, and lack of free time had on the respondents' inability to participate and how the role played by these factors had evolved since their arrival to Canada.

Besides transcribing the exact content of each interview, detailed notes were kept on everything that was believed to be relevant to the specific issues addressed in this article, as well as other contextual information. After all the interview sessions had been transcribed, major themes regarding different aspects of the leisure lives of immigrants were noted. Particular attention was paid to discussions of the subject that followed the respondents' answers to the initial questions: such an approach allowed me to gain an understanding of the phenomena in the broader context of the respondents' life experiences and value systems. During the following stage of analysis, the transcripts

were re-read and common themes and categories were isolated. I kept track of examples of statements that were consistent with the themes, as well as possible exceptions. Finally, after all the relevant points had been synthesized from the data, the transcripts were read once again to ensure that all relevant aspects of the phenomena had been accounted for.

### *2.3.2 Quantitative Stage*

#### *2.3.2.1 Data collection*

The findings obtained in the qualitative stage of the project (Stage 2) were used to design a quantitative survey (Stage 3) which was conducted between December, 1996 and March, 1997. Five hundred self-administered questionnaires were distributed by mail among first-generation Polish immigrants with the individual as the unit of analysis. A list of Polish sounding-names was selected from the city telephone directory. Even though many Poles do not have what one would consider a typical Polish name, I believed that such a selection process introduced only a slight bias by excluding intermarried immigrants and those who had changed their names, since one can reasonably assume that all the other individuals with or without Polish-sounding names would not differ with respect to any of the key characteristics relevant to the study. Furthermore, individuals without telephones as well as those with unlisted telephone numbers were excluded from the sample which would potentially introduce certain bias by omitting the poorest and the most affluent population strata. Subsequently all selected individuals were contacted by telephone to verify their ethnic descent. All potential respondents with disconnected telephone numbers as well as those individuals who claimed not to be Polish immigrants were removed from the sample. As a result of this process, a list of five hundred suitable individuals was created. Despite its possible bias towards less assimilated respondents, such a selection procedure had to be adopted because all other available lists of Polish immigrants had been compiled by various Polish ethnic organizations and businesses and thus were believed to be even more biased toward "ethnically enclosed" individuals.

The 500 anonymous questionnaires were mailed out in late November of 1996. In order to reduce gender bias, respondents were asked that the questionnaire was to be

completed by the member of the household who had had his/her birthday most recently. As a result of the first mail-out, 213 questionnaires were returned, including 179 properly completed questionnaires. In January of 1997 three hundred reminder notices along with another copy of the questionnaire were mailed to individuals randomly selected from the original list. The second mail-out yielded 105 properly completed questionnaires. Twenty responses had to be excluded since they had been obtained from individuals who settled in Canada prior to 1979. Thus the effective sample size was further reduced to 264 responses from individuals who immigrated to Canada in 1979 or later and thus could be classified as belonging to the most recent Solidarity wave. The sample consisted of 168 males (63.6%) and 96 females (36.4%). Their ages ranged from 24 to 70 with a mean of 43. All respondents had settled in Canada between 1979 and 1996 with the average length of residence being around nine years.

*2.3.2.2 Questions*

The questionnaire (in Polish) consisted of forty-seven questions designed to measure respondents' assimilation level, leisure participation patterns, and motivations for and constraints on leisure. The questionnaire was initially written in English and subsequently translated into Polish by the author. The accuracy of the translation was independently verified by four individuals fluent both in Polish and in English. The analysis presented in this paper is based on the respondents' answers to the questions regarding ceasing and starting participation in leisure activities after settling in Canada. Specifically, respondents were asked whether there existed any types of recreation in which they had participated in Poland, but in which they had stopped participating after settling in Canada. Those who indicated that they had ceased participation were then asked, in an open-ended question, to list up to three such leisure activities and to name the reasons why they had abandoned each one of them. Subsequently, people were asked whether there existed any types of recreation in which they had not participated in Poland, but had started to participate in after settling in Canada. Those who indicated that they had started participation in at least one activity were asked to list up to three such pastimes. Besides the questions that were intended to examine the leisure lives of immigrants, the questionnaire also included a series of questions regarding the socio-economic

characteristics of immigrants, including their length of stay in Canada and age upon arrival.

*2.3.2.3 Data manipulation*

In order to facilitate subsequent analysis of the most commonly ceased and started leisure activities, activities named in open-ended questions were aggregated into 10 fairly broad categories, largely compatible with the ones isolated by Iso-Ahola et al. in their 1994 study (Table 2.1). Categories such as "Exercise oriented activities," "Outdoor recreational activities," "Team sports," "Hobbies," "Home-based recreation," and "Mechanized recreation" contained activities virtually identical to those included by Iso-Ahola et al. (1994). However, Iso-Ahola's category "other" was further subdivided into four distinct groups of activities that I believed to be necessary given the specific nature of the population under study. Categories such as "Typical Polish activities," "Cultural activities," "Travel / Tourism" and a category "Other" encompassing all activities that did not belong to any of the previously identified 9 categories, were created.

## 2.4 Results

The analysis, based on the theoretical foundation developed by Jackson and Dunn (1988) and further extended by McGuire et al. (1990) and Iso-Ahola et al. (1994), will focus not only on quantifying the post-arrival changes in participation patterns, but also will attempt to explain the observed shift in behavior by employing qualitative information about constraints and motivations experienced by immigrants in the transitional period. This task is accomplished in two stages. First, general patterns of ceasing and starting behavior are established. Individuals are classified into four categories (quitters, replacers, adders, and continuers) according to the number of activities they have ceased and started since their arrival in Canada. Qualitative data are then used to establish the fundamental causes for the observed post-arrival changes in leisure participation patterns. In the second stage, the analysis is extended to account for age-based variations in ceasing and starting of leisure activities from several activity categories. By controlling for age and activity it is possible not only to obtain a more detailed picture of the post-arrival changes in leisure participation, but also to isolate the immigration-related

changes from those characteristic to a certain age group or activity type. In turn, the second part of the analysis helps to establish a more specific set of motivations and constraints that may be viewed as responsible for modified leisure behavior among recent immigrants. This task is again accomplished by turning to qualitative interviews.

### *2.4.1 Starting and Ceasing Participation*

Analysis of quantitative data showed that almost one half of the respondents (46.6%) ceased participating in at least one recreational activity while more than half of the sample (51.5%) started participating in at least one recreational activity after having settled in Canada. Similarly to Jackson & Dunn's (1988) study, respondents were divided into four categories using the number of activities they had ceased and started as the criterion. This process helped to establish the proportion of immigrants who had permanently reduced their range of recreational activities after coming to Canada as opposed to those whose leisure repertoire had expanded or remained unchanged. 16.7% of respondents were categorized as "quitters" since they had ceased participating in at least one leisure activity, but had not started participating in any new forms of leisure (Table 2.2). As many as 29.9% of the respondents, defined as "replacers," replaced leisure activities that they had quit since coming to Canada with a new ones. Almost one third of immigrants, defined as "continuers," neither had stopped nor had started participating in any leisure activity after coming to Canada. Finally, a group of respondents constituting 21.6% of the sample were so-called "adders," people who had not quit any of their old leisure activities, but had added at least one new leisure activity in the period immediately following their arrival to Canada.

With the exception of a slightly smaller proportion of quitters, the patterns observed among the sample of Polish immigrants closely resemble those obtained in Jackson and Dunn (1988) study but differ significantly from those obtained by McGuire et al. (1989) (Table 2.2). The observed differences between the results of the McGuire et al. (1989) study and the findings of this project can be attributed to the fact that McGuire et al. analyzed outdoor recreational activities, whereas the present study and Jackson and Dunn's (1988) data encompasses all types of leisure activities. However, it is not the *differences* between our results and those of McGuire et al. that appear to be unexpected.

It is the *similarities* between the ceasing and starting behavior of recent immigrants and that of the general population in Jackson and Dunn's Alberta study that require further exploration. These similarities appear to be quite unexpected given not only the different time frames used by the two studies, but also due to the fundamental differences between the two populations.

*2.4.1.1 Changes in Leisure Participation*

While the results of this study with respect to the proportions of people who altered their leisure participation patterns are similar to those obtained by Jackson and Dunn (1988), the reasons underlying the observed changes may in fact be different for recent immigrants than they are for the mainstream population. In his widely quoted theory, Iso-Ahola (1980) attributed people's tendency to continuously change their leisure repertoire to an intrinsic need to maintain an optimum level of arousal. He argued that in leisure people seek neither a total absence nor an excess of stimulation, but rather they look for stability and familiarity and for change and novelty simultaneously.

While the optimum level of arousal argument is certainly applicable to any population, including recent immigrants, the data from in-depth interviews revealed that immigrants possessed a certain set of unique motivations for modifying their leisure repertoire. These reasons for ceasing participation in old leisure activities, for substituting them with new ones and for augmenting leisure repertoire are closely tied to the immigration experience and often are not directly applicable to the population at large. However, many of the factors that motivate immigrants to cease participation may in fact be linked to a broader phenomenon of transition associated with immigration and thus can be generalized to the mainstream population.

Immigration is necessarily associated with a need to adapt to a *different social and physical environment* in the new country. Many interviewees indicated that the environmental change was directly responsible for the changes they had introduced into their leisure behavior. Certain leisure activities were simply no longer available in the country of settlement, some turned out to be too expensive (particularly taking into consideration the fact that many leisure activities were heavily subsidized in the communist system), some were perceived to be too dangerous (wilderness areas in

Canada, unmarked trails, abundance of potentially dangerous wildlife), and some were too time consuming or simply no longer fit new life-styles of immigrants.

A middle-aged dentist described why she could no longer go for two-week winter vacations this way:

> In Poland I used to go skiing quite regularly, well… the skis were cheap, they were terrible, I know, but at least I could afford them. We usually stayed for two weeks in Zakopane or in Ustrzyki *(mountain resorts in southern Poland)* in a resort owned by my husband's employer. Here I simply wouldn't be able to afford it. One day in a motel in Jasper or Banff would cost me what I used to pay for the entire two week stay in Poland! (…) Yes, we still go to the mountains because Agnieszka *(her daughter)* loves it, but only for two, three days maybe… no more. (…) We do it more often though… usually in the spring.

Several people mentioned that they no longer engaged in hiking due to perceived dangers of "unmarked trails" or "being afraid of bears and other wildlife they may encounter." A middle-aged woman vividly described her first camping experience in Canada:

> In Poland we used to spent time camping by the lakes. Here we also went camping, but it so happened that some wild animal came right onto us from the bushes, we got terribly scared and Maciek *(her husband)* said that he wouldn't sleep under a tent ever again.

Asked to explain the incident in detail she said:

> Yes, there are a lot of wild animals here. First time we went to Jasper it was a Canada Day long weekend *(July 1)*. There were lots of people in Jasper that day so everything went smoothly. The next time we went camping it was the fall already and some big animal, I don't know… maybe a moose, started making cracking noises in the bushes and you know… you hear these sounds and it started growling and you know… we got so scared… we just sat there in the tent… and we didn't know what to do – pack ourselves and jump into the car or just sit in the tent and not move… jeez, we were so scared. There was nobody out there… you can be brave when there are people around, but we were there all alone. (…) We still go and spend time by the lake, but now we stay in a motel or in cabins.

The "unsuitable forests" issue also surfaced on many occasions during the interviews. A middle-aged car mechanic put it this way:

> We used to pick mushrooms back home all the time. Here it's different. Those forests! You can't even get through these bushes! And all the forests they have here are fenced! It's private property or something, you can't just go there to pick berries and mushrooms because it belongs to somebody. No… it's different here… I don't even think that mushrooms grow in forests like that.

Besides the changes in the physical environment that people were subjected to following their settlement in Canada, many immigrants emphasized the importance of shattered social networks as a factor limiting their leisure participation following immigration.

Given that newcomers get separated from most of their relatives and childhood friends, certain types of leisure such as socializing may become severely constrained. As described by a middle-aged day-care worker:

> In Poland I used to spend a lot of time with my family. Here I don't have any family except my children *(she divorced her husband several months prior to the interview)*.

Asked whether she misses her old friends from Poland she replied:

> No... not really, I don't miss my old friends that much because I have some new friends here, but I really miss my family. In Poland I spent a lot of time with them, you know... with my sisters *(she had 8 siblings)*, cousins, and aunts. I spent all the holidays, birthdays, and names-days with them. Since there were so many of us at home, we had a birthday party almost every month. My free time was centered around it.

A man in his 50s described the effects that the changes in social networks had on his leisure:

> I will never have friends like the ones I had in Poland. Now I am some 20 or 30 years older than I was when I met my best pals and at this age you don't make friendships like this. Here I only know a handful of people who are my age and who went through similar things I went through. I don't think I will ever make any new friendships. In all, I didn't make any new friendships during the last 6 years. Well... you don't go to places where you could make new friends... like...students' clubs, university, high school. Maybe I will meet some new people here if I decide to go to a language course or something, but all the friends that I had were from my school. I don't go for holidays anymore, I don't go camping or kayaking because I always used to go with them and now they are all gone...

Interviewees also pointed to the existence of another, very powerful element that had influenced their leisure in the period following their settlement in Canada. Severe post-arrival depression caused by lack of language skills, fear of the new environment and lack of social networks had induced some immigrants to abandon many of their old pastimes and at the same time had prevented them from acquiring new ones. This theme surfaced in almost all interviews. A middle-aged nurse working in a retirement home described her experiences quite vividly:

> When we first came to Canada, you know what I did? I didn't unpack our suitcases for more than a week. I said to my husband right then 'we are going back'. Mr. Lotwinowski *(social worker)* found an apartment for us and it so happened that Marek *(her husband)* went to school and there wasn't place for me so I stayed at home. Only one person could go, so I had to stay. And then Allan was born *(her son)*, I had a lot of free time, but I didn't speak English at all, so I couldn't go out alone. I stayed at home for three years. I longed for people so desperately, I was virtually going crazy....You know... to see the people, to hear them speak English. (...) I think it took me 5 years to adjust, then I went to work and it was better. Before that I went to school, to learn the language and it got better already, at least I could meet some people. (...) I think I was in a state of depression the

> whole time. It was caused by the fact that I missed Poland so much, I wanted to go back. I wanted to go back so desperately and at the same time I knew that because of Allan, because of his asthma, so severe, that it was better for him to be treated in Canada, it was better for him to stay. You know, in Krakow the air is so polluted...you virtually can't breathe. So you know...on one hand I wanted to go back and on the other hand I knew I wouldn't go back because it was too late. But right now it is ... it's better now.

While the environmental and social changes associated with immigration often reduce the number of leisure pursuits available to immigrants, they can at the same time augment their choice set with new activities. Interview material revealed that *emerging new leisure opportunities* did constitute an important reason motivating people to modify their leisure repertoire. New and appealing forms of spending free time are being discovered virtually from the moment of arrival. However, newcomers are sometimes prevented from participation in these activities by the lack of financial resources. These financial hardships are often transitory and many immigrants are able to take advantage of new opportunities and effectively expand their leisure repertoire relatively quickly. Moreover, the level of awareness of new leisure opportunities tends to increase along with increased period of residence and the assimilation level, thus further facilitating the expansion of participation (Stodolska & Jackson, 1998; Stodolska, 1998). As expressed by a middle-aged caretaker:

> If you have something, you want to get more, you want to have this and that. When we first came here, we had nothing. I talked to Maciek *(her husband)* lately and he told me "Remember, when we first came here I told you that when I earned $20,000 we would have everything we wanted, and now we make $40,000 and it's not enough. Look how it works... I told you back then that $20,000 would be enough and now we have much more and it is not enough". Now we have different needs. If somebody had told me 5 years ago that I would ever think about buying a boat, I would've laughed. I would've said "maybe a car", "a crib for the baby", but now I'm talking "boat" and "cottage". This is crazy…

Besides shifts in participation that can be directly attributed to environmental differences, other factors may also induce immigrants to embrace new forms of leisure. As the interview material showed, for some immigrants participation in new leisure activities constituted an *avenue for quick and relatively pleasant way of assimilation* into the new culture and society. A number of individuals admitted that their participation in mainstream leisure activities had been at least partly motivated by a desire to establish or expand their social networks, to improve relations with mainstream co-workers or even to be able to identify themselves with the desired way of life. The female interviewee

quoted above explained the quick adaptation of typically North American activities into her family leisure:

> Come on… we didn't come here to hold on like crazy to everything Polish! If I had wanted to do Polish things, I would've stayed put in Poland and wouldn't have come here at all. You know… it's not good for you… some people hang those Polish eagles on their walls, read only Polish books, talk about Poland all the time, like Urszula upstairs *(her neighbor)*. I am telling you, it's not good, you came to live here, you have to adapt, you have to live like them. For her *(her neighbor Urszula)*, nothing in Canada is good enough, she idealizes Poland. So, I am telling her, go back, but she doesn't want to. So, you know… it can't be that bad in Canada after all. You asked me about BBQ and the Canadian cooking. Yeah, it's fun. The first time I had a Canadian dinner was when Michelle *(her former boss)* invited me over. I really liked what she had prepared, and then I invited her back and this way I picked up some new things from her. As to this BBQ on my balcony. Come on… everybody does it …

*2.4.1.2 Continued Participation*

While the immigration experience often compels immigrants to introduce changes into their leisure behavior, it may also serve to motivate people to continue participation in certain leisure activities. According to certain mainstream psychological theories, people continue participating in activities, many of which they started in childhood, for the sake of psychological comfort associated with stability and familiarity (Iso-Ahola, 1980). As the interview material suggests, immigrants had similar motivations for continued participation in familiar leisure activities from their old country. Participation in leisure activities popular in their home country provided them with a sense of psychological comfort, connection with things that were known, familiar, safe, and related to their established ways of life.

However, the qualitative data also strongly suggested that another factor was responsible for inducing immigrants not to abandon their traditional leisure. Participation in old activities gave immigrants not only the sense of connection with their past, as it does for mainstream participants, but also an opportunity to recapture certain elements of their way of life back in the home country. This observation is consistent with findings of a study by Allison and Geiger (1993) that indicated that elderly Chinese immigrants used certain leisure activities, such as gardening, to retain selected elements of their traditional culture. One may argue that in the case of recent immigrants, the "continuers" category included not only people who strove to *avoid* changes in their leisure experience, but also

those who *consciously used* leisure as a tool for connecting with their old way of life and for retaining their cultural tradition. Asked about his favorite ways of spending free time, a male in his 50s described:

> I like to talk a lot and this is, I think, the main way of spending free time for me. Besides talking… I like to listen to music a lot and to read books, mainly biographies.

Asked to elaborate on the reasons for engaging in this kind of activities he replied:

> Maybe because it *(listening to music)* reminds me of better times, times of my youth mostly. I have a large collection of records and most of them are from the time when… from my youth…

As suggested by Iso-Ahola (1989), the urge to *escape* everyday problems, stress and routine is another important factor that motivates people in their leisure choices. As the interview material showed, for recent immigrants the traditional activities served as a means of distancing oneself from the problems associated with the life in a foreign country, from the stress of unfamiliar surroundings, from discrimination, and from the adaptation-related hardships. Thus, the "escape" motive constituted an important reason for continued participation in certain activities. As described by a male interviewee:

> I work as a clerk in a second-hand store. Sometimes, when people get disappointed, they tend to make unpleasant remarks…They get angry because they can't get a good bargain and that it didn't work out for them because they had to deal with an immigrant… After the whole day of that I don't want to think of myself as an immigrant. I just want to go home and spend some time with my wife and kids, or to go play soccer with my *(Polish)* friends.

When we discuss the motivations immigrants have for continued participation, we cannot overlook the possibility that our *definition of a "continuer"* may not in fact be able to account for certain subtle shifts in the nature, meaning, content and intensity of participation in an apparently unchanged set of leisure activities. Although immigrants may still engage in the activities they did back in Poland (e.g., picnicking, hiking, or socializing), factors such as changes in the environment, altered social composition of participants, new or improved facilities, and modified means of transportation may significantly affect the participation style. As expressed by one of the interviewees:

> Yeah, sure I go pick mushrooms here. Same as I did in Poland. But you know… in Poland we went to the forest a couple of kilometers outside of Warsaw, or near the place where my family lived in Mazury *(north-eastern Poland)*, or when we were in Zakopane *(mountain resort)*. There was a lot of litter everywhere, no good mushrooms whatsoever and only a crowd of people running around like crazy to find a single miserable

> mushroom you had been looking for all day. Here *(in Canada)* we go to these huge forests, past Rocky Mountain House, near the national park border. There is no one there besides some people with helicopters looking for diamonds or whatever. And you have moose, and bear, and deer. You know… you have to be really careful… we wear bells and stuff, but I don't suppose they work that good. So we make a lot of noise and we stay close together. And you know, you wouldn't believe how many mushrooms there are out there. In an hour or two you'll get 2-3 full bags. (…) Then we build a tent, make a fire, we clean them *(mushrooms)*. We stay overnight and the next day we pick again. It's a long drive, so you can't just go there every weekend.

Although the quantitative results indicated that proportions of immigrants starting, ceasing, and replacing activities following their settlement in the host country were quite similar to those found among the general population, qualitative analysis showed that processes underlying such behavior could in fact be unique to immigrant populations. Immigrants did replace, add, and continue to participate in leisure activities at rates similar to their mainstream counterparts, but they often had profoundly different motivations for changing their leisure participation patterns or for continuing to participate in their traditional activities.

### *2.4.2 Age-based Variations in Ceasing and Starting Behavior*

In the preceding section I established the overall patterns of post-arrival ceasing and starting behavior and I identified certain broad classes of motivations that had affected immigrants' ability and willingness to preserve or to modify their leisure repertoire. However, while such analysis is useful in establishing the extent and the reasons underlying post-arrival changes in leisure participation, it fails to capture the very nature of such changes. In order to gain an insight into the nature of participation changes we need to extend the analysis to account for activity-based and age-at-immigration-based variations in ceasing and starting behavior. Adopting such an approach allows us to establish why immigrants tend to replace certain types of activities while continuing participation in others. Furthermore, it can help to determine how the likelihood of ceasing as opposed to continuing participation in certain types of activities is affected by the personal characteristics of individual immigrants. Finally, controlling for age and activity makes it possible to isolate immigration-related changes from those characteristic to a certain age group or activity type.

Results of the study indicate that Polish immigrants most often ceased participating in outdoor recreation activities, typical Polish activities, and home-based recreation (Table 2.3). Home-based recreation activities were not only abandoned often, but also were consistently ceased by immigrants in all life-stages (Table 2.4). While the decreased popularity of typical Polish activities appears to be easy to justify, the fall in participation in home-based activities, which constituted the core of leisure activities in Poland, is somewhat unexpected[1]. These findings appear to contradict results obtained by Iso-Ahola et al. (1994), who recorded an *increase* in the proportion of people starting home-based activities along with increasing age. The authors theorized that home-based activities and hobbies were already a part of one's leisure repertoire regardless of age and thus were more readily available. Furthermore, such home-based activities were less physically and financially demanding than outdoor recreation and thus were highly appealing to people from older age groups.

The results show that majority of the respondents *started* participating in one of two categories of activities – outdoor recreation and exercise oriented activities (Table 2.3). In fact, almost 60% of people who had immigrated under the age of 40 started participating in a new exercise-oriented activity and almost three quarters of immigrants under the age of 40 picked up a new outdoor recreational activity. It has to be noted, however, that the proportions of people who took up exercise-oriented and outdoor recreation activities declined with increasing age upon immigration. This trend appears to be consistent with the previously established finding that people tend to decrease their engagement in physically demanding activities as their age increases (Iso-Ahola et al., 1994; Gordon, Gaitz, & Scott, 1976). Although the observed age-based variations appear to be similar in some respects to those characteristic to the mainstream population (exercise-oriented activities most frequently started in all life stages: Iso-Ahola et al., 1994; Jackson & Dunn, 1988), one needs to keep in mind that this study captures mainly immigration-induced changes in leisure behavior. While it is quite possible that time-

[1] As detailed analysis of the data revealed, those immigrants who after coming to Canada ceased participation in some outdoor recreation, stopped participating in almost exclusively two activities – downhill skiing and hiking. Those who started participating in outdoor recreation, started participating in a wide variety of activities (fishing, camping, downhill skiing, BBQing, hunting, cross country skiing, and going for a walk being listed most often).

induced changes, unrelated to immigration factors, are also present, the qualitative data suggest that they are not nearly as important. Based on the interview material, I identified three major themes that provided important insights into the reasons that underlie the observed changes in leisure patterns experienced by people in certain age groups.

*2.4.2.1 Theme 1: The importance of latent demand*

The findings of this study suggest that, besides commonly identified factors such as physical fitness and availability of partners, the types of leisure activities that people take up in various life stages depend to a large degree on the constraints that they experienced in *preceding* periods of their life. As has been shown by Jung (1990, 1994) and confirmed by the interview material, people living in Poland experienced very significant structural constraints on exercise-oriented and outdoor activities, such as lack of money, equipment, facilities, rationing of gasoline, and the degradation of the natural environment. At the same time, they experienced very strong interpersonal constraints related to the fact that many activities were not considered "trendy" and in some cases not even socially acceptable. After having settled in Canada, immigrants found themselves released from constraints that had blocked their participation in desired outdoor and exercise oriented activities. As a man employed in a second hand store described:

> I always wanted to do hunting, collect hunting rifles, gear, you know. Well… back then, you know how it was. You couldn't just go and buy a hunting rifle. You had to get a hunting license first and it was virtually impossible to obtain one. (…) Well… I do it here because I always wanted to do it. I got my license and I bought a shotgun in my store. I hunted only once last year because my room-mate had moved out and I didn't have anybody to go with but I will definitely go again this year.

Another man, in his 50s, described the structural constraints that he had faced in Poland and the effect that the removal of these constraints and the availability of new opportunities had on his leisure:

> I swim more in Canada than I used to back in Poland. I've started going to a pool just because it's in the basement of my apartment building. In Poland, if you wanted to go for a swim, you had to go to a crowded and dirty public pool, but here it's different. The facilities are better. You can go to a pool whenever you like, during the day or even at night.

The same man commented on his childhood passion for biking and on the interpersonal constraints that he had experienced in Poland:

> Certainly, I do more biking here than I did in Poland, but this is the only sport that I do. I consider biking to be a means of transportation, but I do it for fun too. I liked biking in Poland, but I was always embarrassed to ride a bike in the city. Here *(in Canada)* more people do sports, biking, and besides, I am at the age when no one is embarrassed to do what he really likes, provided that it doesn't conflict too much with some ethical standards or with the law.

These findings seem to lend conformation to Wall's (1981) and Jackson & Dunn's (1988) thesis that people who could not engage in certain activities due to economic and social barriers, or due to other barriers such as lack of knowledge or lack of facilities, exhibit a latent demand for these activities. Results of this study indicate that when barriers to participation are removed and when the knowledge and opportunities are acquired, people start participating in the activities for which they have previously exhibited latent demand *regardless of the life-stage* they are currently in. Since, besides downhill skiing and hiking, participation in all other outdoor and exercise oriented activities was severely limited in Poland (Jung, 1990, 1994), after their settlement in Canada immigrants tend to begin participation in activities from these two groups. The need to participate in at least a limited number of exercise-oriented and outdoor activities due to the inability to participate in Poland and the resulting latent demand appear to outweigh the decreased popularity of such activities associated with aging. On the other hand, Poles who on average had exhibited virtually no latent demand for home-based activities (low levels of constraints and high participation rates in Poland), did not increase their participation after coming to Canada, but rather tended to replace some of their home-based activities with sports and outdoor recreation.

Based on these findings we can expect that activities in which people participate in certain life-stages will depend not only on people's wants, needs and constraints currently experienced, but also on the constraints they experienced in *preceding* periods of their life. In other words, it is the removal of constraints that triggers participation. One can speculate that this pattern is observable not only among immigrants, but also among members of the general population. Some individuals after having reached a certain level of financial stability start participation in activities that were previously constrained by the lack of resources. Others, once they reach the retirement age, begin to devote their

time to gardening, collecting stamps or making model planes. In such cases, they do it not because these are the *only activities they can still do,* but rather because their mid-life constraints have been relieved and now they *can* finally do what they always wanted, but were unable to due to certain life stage related constraints.

*2.4.2.2 Theme 2: The "forbidden fruit" effect*

Besides the fact that Polish immigrants increased participation in physically demanding activities in order to satisfy their latent demand, it is also evident that some of them were drawn to "forbidden" and highly constrained activities just for the sake of doing things they had never tried before. This phenomenon can explain a high number of sporting and outdoor recreation activities that interviewees started after coming to Canada, but quit shortly thereafter. When asked about the activities she had started participating in within a few years following her arrival, a female interviewee named crafts, roller blades, hang-gliding, skiing, and skating. Asked about her most recent experience with roller blades, she proudly showed her new equipment and explained:

> Well… I am 38 now, I am still young… But in a few years, I might be too old for this. I've never tried it in my life. And here, so many people do it in the River Valley. (…) First Krzysiek *(her husband)* bought blades for himself. He liked it so I thought I might try it too... well... I though "why not", life is too short, you know... My first blades were really cheap, these ones are quite good, they have good brakes and stuff. These things cost a lot of money though… that means, if you are really into this.

We can argue that such motivations may not necessarily be limited to individuals who have experienced significant changes in their life, such as ones related to the immigration experience. Natural curiosity and search for new stimulating experiences are likely to affect virtually anyone. One may expect that if mainstream Americans were prohibited from traveling abroad till the age of 60, most of them would want go on an overseas trip immediately after reaching this age for no particular reason other than just to see "what's on the other side" and how it really looks "out there". We may parallel this phenomenon to teenagers who anxiously await their 18 birthday to be finally able to go to a local bar. It doesn't imply that when the constraints are relieved, they will do nothing but spend their time in bars. It is possible that their first trip might be last. Still, they would go just to try it out. Similarly Polish immigrants who have never participated in outdoor

activities and sports will most likely be tempted to try them out, even if they are actually too old for sustained participation.

One interpretation of this phenomenon is that under certain circumstances constraints experienced at one point in time may serve as a *motivation* for future participation. Barriers to participation that we experience increase the scarcity and thus the perceived value of the desired object or activity. Thus, a subsequent removal of such barriers may trigger participation even among people who would otherwise be unlikely to engage in a given activity. A classic example of how such a mechanism works is the explanation of the value that we associate with diamonds as opposed to water, proposed by Adam Smith more than two centuries ago. Although water is necessary for survival, people tend to undervalue it solely because of its abundance. Diamonds, on the other hand, are valued very highly because they are scarce despite the fact that their usefulness is quite limited (Smith, 1776).

#### *2.4.2.3 Theme 3: Demonstration effect*

Besides latent demand and the forbidden fruit effect, another factor may be responsible for the increased interest in exercise-oriented and outdoor recreation activities observed among recent Polish immigrants. Since sporting and outdoor activities are not deeply imbedded in Polish culture and are not considered to be trendy and prestigious, Poles have a limited exposure to such activities and generally do not find them appealing. After having settled in Canada, immigrants discover that exercise-oriented and outdoor activities are not only immensely popular among the mainstream population, but also are often associated with people of high social status and a desirable way of life. It is quite likely that immigrants might acquire new exercise-oriented and outdoor activities just to do what is "trendy" or what the others do.

Similar trends can be observed not only among East Europeans settling in North America, but also among the general population of certain nations that have recently developed trade or tourism related links with the western world. The "westernization" of culture due to the so-called "demonstration effect" is a well documented phenomenon (Hagen, 1962; Kindleberger, 1977) which is in many ways parallel to acculturation among ethnic minority populations. The "demonstration effect" often leads to changes in

leisure behavior through ceasing participation in traditional pastimes and the adoption of Western ones. Besides a number of less developed countries, formerly centrally planned economies are an excellent example of nations where such a cultural transformation is taking place (Jung, 1994). It appears that leisure can play a very special role in the "westernization" of culture. Whereas imported consumer goods can only have an indirect effect on a society's values and customs, leisure activities constitute one of the core components of culture. Thus, changes in leisure behavior cannot be considered merely to be an outcome of "westernization," but rather one of as one of the major driving forces responsible for cultural change.

The demonstration effect may occur not only at the interface between the mainstream and the minority cultures, but also between the culture of the immigrants' home country and the subculture of the local ethnic community. As became apparent during the interviews, activities such as fishing that were not particularly popular in Poland but were popular among Polish immigrants in Canada, had become "icons" among the immigrant population and had attracted people with virtually no previous intrinsic motivation for participation. This theme can be illustrated by an interview quotation with a middle-aged car mechanic:

> Four years ago I started fishing. (*Question: Did you try it in Poland?).* No, I didn't. I hated it so much I used to throw stones into the water, literally, to scare off fish for other people! For me everybody who fished was crazy. When I first came here, maybe for some two or three years, everywhere I went people talked about fishing, fishing, fishing and nothing but fishing. So, I thought, "what a heck, I'll buy a rod and I'll try". And you know, I am not crazy about fishing now, but you know… a bonfire, some beer, a sausage. Meantime, I can do some fishing… it's some form of spending free time for me. It's not like I have to fish…

It has to be noted that every interviewee with the exception of an unemployed middle-age man mentioned fishing as something he or she started to do after coming to Canada. All interviewees stated that the example of Polish friends who "all did it" influenced their behavior. A female day-care worker stopped participating in fishing only after she had divorced her husband and did not have a car to drive to the lake.

The emergence of a "subculture leisure" among minority groups has been observed among well established minority groups such as Mexican-Americans in the American South-West or among Puerto Rican minority in large cities of America's North-East (Connor, 1985; De la Garza, Bean, Bonjean, & Alvarez, 1985; Fitzpatrick,

1971; Hutchison, 1987; Hutchison & Fidel, 1984; Portes & Bach, 1985). In such populations newcomers of compatible ethnic background are integrated into the community and undergo an assimilation process parallel to the conventionally defined acculturation (Gordon, 1964). Thus, it appears that for immigrants who choose to maintain links with their respective ethnic community, assimilation is a two-faceted phenomenon. They not only have to adapt to what is considered as the mainstream, but also to the modified flavor of their own culture. It appears that the latter process is much more significant among well established and highly enclosed ethnic populations. However, as the results of this study indicate, it does occur even among relatively recent and quite outgoing immigrant groups, such as Poles in Canada.

## 2.5 Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to provide new insights into the changes that the process of immigration brings to the leisure life of recent immigrants. The ceasing-starting framework introduced by Jackson and Dunn (1988) and subsequently extended by McGuire et al. (1990) and Iso-Ahola et al. (1994), was used as foundation of the analysis. While the quantitative findings with respect to ceasing and starting behavior were consistent with the patterns observed by Jackson and Dunn (1988), the qualitative data pointed to the existence of certain immigrant-specific motivations responsible for continued or for modified participation patterns. Besides the simultaneous addition and elimination of leisure opportunities due to environmental differences between Poland and Canada, the interviews revealed certain additional factors responsible for the extent of post-arrival transformation of leisure behavior. Some traditional activities were not abandoned simply because they provided people with a sense of psychological comfort, allowed them to maintain connection with their former ways of life and sometimes facilitated the retention of desired cultural elements. Traditional leisure also helped immigrants to distance themselves from the problems associated with being place in a new and unfamiliar environment, thus serving as a "buffer" that made the adaptation process less traumatic.

The examination of the relationship between the age at immigration and ceasing and starting behavior in various activity categories helped to isolate certain mechanisms relevant not only to post-arrival participation changes among immigrants, but also to life-stage related modifications of leisure repertoire in the general population. After being released from the constraints that had prevented their participation in desired activities, immigrants started participating, regardless of their current life stage, in activities for which they had previously exhibited strong latent demand. One can expect that any individual who is entering a new life stage and has just been released from the constraints associated with the previous life stage may exhibit similar behavior. Consequently, this result may have significant implications for the forecasting of future leisure demand among the general population. It suggests that the intertemporal nature of leisure decisions cannot be ignored since the barriers to participation experienced by people in various age groups today will affect their demand for leisure in the future. The analysis of the leisure behavior of recent immigrants helped to identify additional roles, besides blocking participation, that constraints had on people's leisure behavior. The life span perspective allowed the examination of the role of constraints' in determining leisure participation patterns as a function of age, while the analysis of the "forbidden fruit" effect showed that in certain circumstances constraints motivated people to future participation. Furthermore, the study revealed that immigrants' leisure choices were affected by the so called "demonstration effect" and thus they were more likely to start participating in activities associated with high social status.

Results of this study may serve as a useful starting point for future investigations of the interesting but largely unexplored phenomenon of leisure behavior of recent immigrants. In particular, the role of past latent demand as a factor shaping leisure lives of newcomers appears to warrant further investigation. Similarly, the significance of the "forbidden fruit" effect as a determinant of leisure demand requires more exploration, possibly by studying an immigrant population for whom the post-arrival shift of social norms is somewhat more pronounced than for Poles in Canada. Besides the possibilities for further exploration of leisure behavior of immigrant groups, results of this study present some new avenues for the development of the mainstream leisure constraints research. Until now, constraints on leisure were largely viewed as a single period or static

phenomenon. However, as suggested by the results obtained in this study, the time separability of constraints cannot always be assumed. Paradoxically, when analyzed from a multi-period perspective, constraints cannot be perceived merely as barriers, but also as potential motivators for participation. This conclusion appears to be a strong argument in favor of the adaptation of multi-period, dynamic approaches, already popular in other fields of social inquiry, to the analysis of human leisure behavior.

**Table 2.1**

Allocation of Specific Activities to Categories (Activity-Types)

***Exercise-oriented activities***
Aerobics, Badminton, Body building, Bowling, Dancing, General Sports, Gymnastics, Ice skating, Jogging/running, Judo, Karate, Long distance running, Martial arts, Ping-Pong, Racquetball, Riding bikes/biking trips, Roller blades, Roller skating, Squash Swimming, Target shooting, Tennis, Track and field, Treadmill, Workout Wrestling, Yoga

***Outdoor recreational activities***
BBQ/picnicking/bonfire, Camping, Canoeing, Cross country skiing, Downhill skiing, Enjoying nature, Fishing, Going for a walk, Going to the park, Golf, Heliskiing, Hiking, Horseback riding, Hunting, Ice fishing, Kayaking, Mountain horseback riding, Ocean Fishing, Rock climbing, Sled racing, Spending time in forests, Walking dog, White water rafting

***Team sports***
Baseball, Basketball, Coordinated swimming, Curling, Handball, Hockey, Paintball game, Soccer, Volleyball

***Hobbies***
Baking, Charity work, Cooking, Gardening, Doing renovations, General hobbies, Handicrafts, Hobby brewing, Knitting, Making home movies, Minor car repairs, Painting, Participation in organized clubs, Photography, Playing musical instruments, Sewing, Tinkering, Writing short stories

***Home based recreation***
Board games, Cleaning around the house, Computer/Internet, Crossword puzzles, Listening to music, Listening to the radio, Playing cards, Playing chess, Playing with children, Reading books, Reading newspapers, Spending time at home/doing nothing, Spending time with the family, Spending time in the backyard, Telephone conversations, Visiting friends/having friend over, Watching TV

***Mechanized outdoor recreation***
Carting, Driving a car, Flying ultralight plane, Gliding, Hang gliding, Hot air balloon, Motor boating, Parachuting, Riding motorcycle, Snowmobiling, Water ski, Yachting/sailing

***Other***
Bingo, Dating, Dining out, Drinking coffee, Going to beauty salons, Going to discos/night clubs, Going to hair dresser, Going to malls, Going out, Going to parades, Going to parties, Learning English, Meditation, Scuba diving, Shopping, Sleeping, Snorkeling, Spending time in coffee shops, Spending time on beaches, Studying, Sun bathing, Watching sporting events, Watching stand-up comedians, Water sports, Windsurfing

***Typical Polish activities***
Field trips in organized groups, Gardening in a small vegetable garden, Going to Polish concerts, Listening to Polish radio, Mushroom picking, Reading Polish books and newspapers, Religious service/praying, Social drinking, Spending time in sanatoriums/convalescent houses, Taking part in ethnic events, Trips to the opera/theatre/philharmonic organized by the employer, Two-week employer-organized vacations, Visiting out of town relatives/spending time in the countryside

***Cultural activities***
Going to classical concerts, Going to concerts, Going to film festivals, Going to the movies, Going to opera, Going to operetta, Going to theatre, Visiting art galleries

***Travel / Tourism***
Boat cruises, Exploring Canada, General tourism, Going to hot springs, Out of town trips, Travelling, Trips to the lake, Trips to the mountains, Trips to the ocean/sea

**Table 2.2**

Starting and Ceasing Leisure Activities - a Cross-Study Comparison

| Category (%) | Polish immigrant Study | Jackson & Dunn (1988) | McGuire, O'Leary, Yeh, & Dottavio (1990) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Quitters | 16.7 | 22.7 | 18.3 |
| Replacers | 29.9 | 27.4 | 4.2 |
| Adders | 21.6 | 20.2 | 17.9 |
| Continuers | 31.8 | 29.7 | 59.0 |

**Table 2.3**

Proportions of Respondents Ceasing and Starting Leisure Activities

| Activity Category | Ceasing Activities | | Starting Activities | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | n | % of sample | n | % of sample |
| Exercise-oriented activities | 23 | 8.7 | 68 | 25.8 |
| Outdoor recreational activities | 43 | 16.3 | 89 | 33.7 |
| Team sports | 21 | 8.0 | 11 | 4.2 |
| Hobbies | 5 | 1.9 | 7 | 2.7 |
| Home based recreation | 24 | 9.1 | 7 | 2.7 |
| Mechanized outdoor recreation | 16 | 6.1 | 4 | 1.5 |
| Other activities | 11 | 4.2 | 5 | 1.9 |
| Typical Polish activities | 25 | 9.5 | 0 | 0 |
| Cultural activities | 19 | 7.2 | 2 | 0.8 |
| Travel / Tourism | 16 | 6.1 | 15 | 5.7 |

**Table 2.4**

Age-at-Immigration-Based Variations in Ceasing and Starting Participation in Activity Categories

| Activity Categories | Age Upon Arrival | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | <30 | 30-39 | >40 |
| *Exercise-oriented activities* | | | |
| *N* starting | 33 | 45 | 11 |
| *N* ceasing | 10 | 10 | 5 |
| *Outdoor recreational activities* | | | |
| *N* starting | 37 | 60 | 17 |
| *N* ceasing | 12 | 27 | 11 |
| *Team sports* | | | |
| *N* starting | 5 | 5 | 2 |
| *N* ceasing | 6 | 12 | 3 |
| *Hobbies* | | | |
| *N* starting | 3 | 4 | 1 |
| *N* ceasing | 0 | 2 | 3 |
| *Home-based recreation* | | | |
| *N* starting | 2 | 4 | 1 |
| *N* ceasing | 3 | 18 | 6 |
| *Mechanized outdoor recreation* | | | |
| *N* starting | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| *N* ceasing | 3 | 12 | 1 |
| *Other* | | | |
| *N* starting | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| *N* ceasing | 6 | 5 | 0 |
| *Typical Polish activities* | | | |
| *N* starting | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *N* ceasing | 5 | 17 | 9 |
| *Cultural activities* | | | |
| *N* starting | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| *N* ceasing | 5 | 10 | 7 |
| *Travel / Tourism* | | | |
| *N* starting | 6 | 8 | 1 |
| *N* ceasing | 2 | 9 | 6 |

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# CHAPTER 3

## Assimilation and Leisure Constraints:
## Dynamics of Constraints on Leisure in Immigrant Populations

## Assimilation and Leisure Constraints: Dynamics of Constraints on Leisure in Immigrant Populations*

### 3.1 Introduction

Leisure constraints research has expanded in scope and gained sophistication since the beginning of 1980s and now is established as a distinct subfield of leisure studies (Jackson, 1991). However, the majority of the existing research has largely focused on problems of the general population without much attention to problems particular to special populations such as people with disabilities, ethnic/racial minorities, or immigrants. Although some recent attempts have addressed the distinct nature of constraints on leisure faced by special populations (e.g. Henderson & Allen, 1991; Henderson, Stalnaker, & Taylor, 1988; Henderson, Bedini, Hecht, & Schuller, 1995; Philipp, 1995), much remains to be done in terms of expanding leisure constraints theory to make it better suited for studying constraints among minorities. In the words of Karla Henderson (1997, p. 456) "Researchers must be careful not to force people to fit theory that may not be appropriate for them." Furthermore, there has not been much effort to advance the general theory of constraints by incorporating the lessons learned from studying the behavior of distinct groups.

Whereas leisure constraints of some special groups such as women have generated considerable interest among leisure researchers (e.g. Harrington, Dawson, & Bolla, 1992; Henderson & Allen, 1991; Shaw, 1994), only a few isolated attempts have tackled constraints of other groups including established racial minorities (Carrington, Chivers, & Williams, 1987; Glyptis, 1985; Philipp, 1995), and even fewer efforts have been directed towards studying constraints of immigrant groups (Rublee & Shaw, 1991; Yu & Berryman, 1996). This apparent lack of interest in constraints on leisure experienced by immigrants is somewhat unexpected. Given their sheer numbers, as well as their role in the economy, immigrants in North America are difficult to overlook and thus it appears

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that considerably more effort in the area would be warranted. More importantly, however, the leisure behavior of immigrant populations and the constraints that they face in particular possess certain characteristics that can be found neither in the general population nor in other special groups. One can argue that immigrants may have been deprived of certain advantages associated with early socialization in the host country and may lack sufficient friendship networks and knowledge of leisure opportunities. Moreover, language difficulties may constitute another factor that can affect leisure experience of immigrant groups. By exploring these unique attributes we can attempt to integrate the area of leisure constraint studies with the subfield of leisure of ethnic/racial minorities. Given the particular importance of constraints as a determinant of leisure behavior of minorities (Goodale, 1992), an understanding of constraints being faced by such groups appears to be a prerequisite for the effective study of their leisure behavior. Similarly, it appears difficult to claim an understanding of constraints on leisure in general unless this understanding is consistent with what is observed both for the mainstream and for minority populations.

The constraints on leisure experienced by immigrants may differ from those of the general population both with respect to their static and dynamic characteristics. *Static characteristics* of immigrants' constraints on leisure are related to the nature of their set of constraints at any given point in time and include factors such as the relative importance of particular constraint dimensions or the presence of immigrant specific constraints such as language difficulties or not being at ease among the mainstream population. On the other hand, *dynamic characteristics* refer to the evolution that the constraints set undergoes as a function of factors related to the passage of time (e.g. age, life-cycle stage, assimilation level).

### *3.1.1 Static Characteristics*

Besides being subjected to leisure constraints commonly encountered by the general population, immigrants may experience a number of barriers related both to their minority status and to problems with adaptation to the new cultural and economic environment. Language difficulties, being unfamiliar with the ways of life in the host country, as well as experiences with discrimination can have a significant effect on the

leisure experiences of newcomers. Members of immigrant groups may not only experience unique types of constraints but they may also differ in terms of how they are affected by and how they perceive common types of constraints. Post-arrival stress, depression, anxiety, alienation, and often a sense of loss are likely to modify the usual constraints patterns associated with certain age, occupation, gender, or family status groups.

### *3.1.2 Dynamic Characteristics*

Another characteristic that distinguishes the leisure constraints of immigrants from those of the general population is their dynamic nature. Following their settlement, newcomers undergo assimilation -- a complex and multifaceted process that is likely to affect their leisure behavior including participation patterns, motivations, and constraints. One can expect that for the majority of immigrants, following the initial stress associated with environmental shock, the pattern of constraints on leisure should gradually become more similar to that of the mainstream North American society. Thus, it is important not only to explore the distinct nature of immigrants' leisure constraints but to approach them as dynamic phenomena that evolve along with changing assimilation levels.

Research on the constraints of the Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants to Canada presents an opportunity for such an endeavor. The social diversity of this minority combined with its relatively large size makes it a perfect group for analyzing processes related to prolonged and direct cross-cultural contacts between an immigrant population and the host society. Given that Polish nationals constituted Canada's second largest immigrant group throughout most of the 1980s (Immigration Statistics, 1989), a significant proportion of the Polish ethnic minority members are recent immigrants who have settled in Canada since 1979. Unlike previous immigration waves that were comprised mostly of individuals with an agricultural background, this major influx of settlers was dominated by relatively well-educated city-dwellers. Their decision to emigrate was determined, to a large degree, by Poland's deteriorating economy and political repression during the period preceding and following the declaration of martial law on December 13, 1981 (Heydenkorn, 1990).

This study aims to tackle the problems of constraints on leisure of an immigrant population. A broad definition of leisure constraints conceptualized as "Factors that are assumed by researchers and perceived or experienced by individuals to limit the formation of leisure preferences and to inhibit or prohibit participation and enjoyment in leisure" (Jackson, 1997, p. 461) will be adopted throughout the paper. A classification of constraints on leisure that is compatible with specific characteristics of this group will be devised. Then, respondents will be grouped according to their assimilation level in four dimensions of assimilation. Finally, relationships between the perceived importance of constraints and assimilation levels will be analyzed for each combination of constraint and assimilation dimensions. In particular, the following hypotheses as to the relationships between assimilation and constraints on leisure will be tested in this study.

$H_1$: Perceived importance of all constraints other than those related to personal or physical characteristics of a person will diminish along with increasing assimilation levels.

$H_2$: Perceived importance of constraints related to personal characteristics of an individual will be invariant on any assimilation level.

## 3.2 Review of Literature

Interest in the leisure constraints of ethnic/racial groups can be traced back to the work by Washburne (1978) and his marginality-ethnicity thesis. According to the marginality thesis, the history of inequality in resource allocation could be an important factor constraining recreation pursuits of black Americans as well as other ethnic and racial minorities. Washburne's results showed that blacks were somewhat more constrained by the cost of activities and by transportation problems than were their white counterparts. More recent studies on the subject were quite ambiguous in their conclusions regarding the role of constraints as determinants of differentiation in recreation patterns between the white mainstream and racial minorities. For instance, Edwards (1981) found that inequitable distribution of recreational services, transportation problems, inadequate information, lack of interesting programs, and differential allocation of recreational opportunities were not factors constraining recreational pursuits of blacks. In his study of

regional park use by urban visitors West (1989) did not confirm cost to be a constraint on the use of these resources by blacks but concluded that transportation problems were a significant barrier. Interestingly, he pointed out interracial relations to be a factor constraining leisure of black residents of Detroit. Some of West's findings were substantiated by Woodard (1988) who also acknowledged prejudice and discrimination as possible leisure constraints of minorities.

In contrast to marginality theory, the ethnicity thesis does not acknowledge the effects of resource constraints on leisure participation patterns. It suggests instead that differences in leisure styles result from variations in norms and values in ethnic/racial groups. Whereas the importance of resource constraints is downplayed in this approach, other types of constraints are not necessarily excluded as at least partial determinants of the observed behavioral differences. Beginning with the original study by Washburne (1978, p.178) who noted that there might have been "powerful forces within community that discourage participation in *white* activities", a number of studies mentioned ethnic characteristics as possible constraints on leisure. Woodard (1988) observed that family and peer pressure limited the choice of recreation activities available to blacks and restricted their leisure space to local neighborhoods. In his study of the use of Chicago's public parks, Hutchison (1987) observed that Hispanics were more likely than either whites or blacks to spend their free time within mixed-age family groups often composed solely of females. He concluded that this participation pattern could be related to child care functions of mothers and older girls that are expected to provide care for their younger siblings. Furthermore, Hutchinson pointed out that excessive crowding and utilization of recreation facilities beyond their capacity that resulted from Hispanics' specific style of participation might hinder leisure pursuits of this minority. Similarly, Irwin, Gartner, and Phelps (1990) found that Hispanics tended to recreate in larger groups and, given the design of most American campgrounds, the group size itself could be a factor constraining their recreational behavior.

Besides the emphasis on family oriented recreation commonly found among Hispanics, other ethnic characteristics could be responsible for distinct participation patterns and possibly act as constraining factors. Both Alvirez and Bean (1981) and Clark (1979) pointed out that factors such as *machismo* or male dominance, emphasis on

respect for elders, subordination of youth, gender segregation of activities, and restrictions on social contacts of unmarried females were important characteristics of the Hispanic minority. One can argue that such cultural characteristics can modify leisure behavior of ethnic groups and, in certain circumstances, create or reinforce constraints on leisure. Similarly, some demographic characteristics of this population, such as younger average age at marriage or higher fertility rates may also contribute to a differentiation in patterns of constraints on leisure for the Hispanic minority and for Hispanic women in particular.

Even though marginality-ethnicity studies did contribute to the understanding of constraints on leisure of ethnic/racial minorities, they did not explicitly deal with the issue. However, a number of attempts exist that explored constraints of minorities somewhat more thoroughly. Independent studies of constraints on leisure among South Asian youth were conducted in the United Kingdom during 1980s (Carrington et al., 1987; Glyptis, 1985; Taylor & Hegarty, 1985). They all confirmed that South Asian girls were severely constrained in their leisure pursuits by lack of parental approval for out-of-home activities and for sports participation in particular, strict dress codes, inadequate availability of single-sex facilities, and by their religious beliefs. Boys, on the other hand, who enjoyed more freedom from such restrictions, were also more likely to experience racial discrimination that interfered with their leisure pursuits (Carrington et al., 1987). Another study that dealt with leisure constraints of racial minorities was conducted by Philipp (1995). He used appeal and comfort of certain leisure activities as measures of constraints and investigated differences in constraint patterns between white and black populations.

A limited number of studies dealing specifically with immigrant leisure have addressed the problems of leisure constraints. Rublee and Shaw (1991) used a qualitative framework to analyze some aspects of the leisure behavior of refugee women from Latin America who had recently settled in Canada. Among other factors, the study focused on their constraints on leisure as a possible inhibitor of assimilation. The authors isolated a set of immigrant-specific constraints that included inadequate language skills, lack of overall orientation in Canadian everyday life, as well as severe post-arrival social isolation. Furthermore, they concluded that other constraints might have a particularly

detrimental effect on the leisure of the population under study. Among such constraints were difficulties associated with obtaining access to affordable child care that would be sensitive to the minority's cultural needs. Child care problems were found to aggravate other constraints faced by these women, such their lack of social interactions, language difficulties, and the fact of being confined to their homes for prolonged periods of time. Another important constraint on leisure isolated in this study was related to cultural differences. In North America activities such as socializing with neighbors, participation in community events, or involvement in church related affairs are not as popular as they are in many Latin American countries. This fact can severely limit the opportunity to participate in their favorite pastimes for many refugee women.

In their study on recreation participation and perceived barriers to recreation among recent adolescent immigrants from China, Yu and Berryman (1996) explored relationships between constraints and factors such as self-esteem and acculturation level. Their findings suggested that the perceived importance of certain constraints, including language problems, inability to find leisure partners, lack of money or lack of awareness of existing opportunities, were negatively related to self-esteem levels. The authors recognized the dynamic nature of constraints in immigrant populations but were limited in their attempts to explore it by the relatively short period of stay of the subjects under study.

Besides the work of Yu and Berryman (1996), most studies that have tackled constraints of ethnic/racial minorities have focused exclusively on the static characteristics of constraints on leisure. They focused on analyzing constraints specific to such populations or on possible differences in relative importance of other constraints for members of these groups but largely failed to acknowledge any of their time-dependent characteristics. Studying immigrant groups, however, makes the dynamics of constraints on leisure difficult to overlook. Research on how the leisure constraints faced by immigrants evolve along with increasing assimilation levels not only enhances our understanding of leisure behavior of minorities but is also likely to shed some light on dynamic nature of constraints in general.

## 3.3 Theoretical Background

The term assimilation is defined differently in various fields of social inquiry. Often, it is used synonymously with "acculturation," an array of phenomena resulting when two or more distinct cultural groups come into continuous first-hand contact that leads to subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns in either or both groups (Padilla, 1980). For this study *assimilation* was defined as a process of boundary reduction that included, but was not limited to, cultural change.

In his work on assimilation theory, Gordon (1964) isolated seven subprocesses of this phenomenon: cultural assimilation (or acculturation), structural assimilation, marital assimilation (or amalgamation), identificational assimilation, attitude receptional assimilation, behavioral receptional assimilation, and civic assimilation. In their attempt to empirically test the validity of Gordon's classification, Williams and Ortega (1990) showed that this seven-dimensional model could be reduced to three dimensions: acculturation, structural assimilation, and behavioral-receptional assimilation. This revised model has been utilized in several studies of the Hispanic minority in the United States (Floyd & Gramann, 1993; Floyd, Gramann, & Saenz, 1993) and will serve as a foundation of this study.

### *3.3.1 Acculturation*

Acculturation is defined, according to Gordon (1964, p. 71), as a "change of cultural patterns to those of the host society." It involves the acquisition by a minority group of the cultural characteristics such as diet, religion, and language of the majority population (Gordon, 1964). Similarly, Yinger (1981) described acculturation as a:

> process of change towards greater cultural similarity brought about by contact between two or more groups. (...) Whatever the balance of the exchange - the full assimilative power of acculturation has occurred when the members of the formerly distinct groups can no longer be distinguishable on the basis of culture (p. 251).

One could expect that changes in an individual's level of acculturation will have an effect on the intensity and types of his/her leisure constraints. A substantial volume of evidence exists to suggest that language proficiency (a common measure of acculturation) has a direct bearing on minority members' ease of contacts with the mainstream population, on

their leisure choices, and on selected constraints such as the perceived incidence of discrimination (Chan, 1987; Floyd & Gramann, 1995; Rublee & Shaw, 1991; Stodolska & Jackson, 1998; Yu & Berryman, 1996). Furthermore, factors such as distinct religious beliefs, specific dietary preferences, and adherence to certain traditional holidays may significantly affect people's leisure preferences, their ease of finding leisure partners among the mainstream population, and their ability to be fully functional members of the Canadian or American society. As shown by Carrington et al. (1987), Glyptis (1985), and Taylor and Hegarty (1985), the distinct gender roles and expectations placed on females characteristic to South-Asian cultures may significantly affect the set of leisure constraints experienced by this sub-population. Similarly, certain characteristics of Hispanic cultures such as traditional gender roles and family-oriented nature of many recreation activities may generate a distinct array of leisure constraints (Alvirez & Bean, 1981; Clark, 1981; Hutchinson, 1987; Irwin et al., 1990). Thus, one can expect that changes in acculturation may be associated with variations in patterns of constraints on leisure experienced by minority populations.

### *3.3.2 Structural Assimilation*

According to Gordon (1964), structural assimilation is a process of "large scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of host society, on a primary group level (p.71)" Yinger (1981) defined structural assimilation as a process in which two or more groups come into contact and develop a set of common interactions. Those interactions may encompass relatively impersonal contacts within economic and political institutions as well as more personal contacts within neighborhoods, friendship circles, and marriage. According to Yinger (1981), it is necessary to distinguish between individual and group integration. Individual integration occurs when persons from two distinct backgrounds enter into the same social group and interact within this group on an equal basis. As noted by Yinger (1981), group integration occurs when minorities are accorded:

> the same rights and public privileges, the same access to political and economic advantages, and share the same responsibilities as citizens and members of the total society, while at the same time are accepted as legitimate sub-divisions of the society, with partially distinctive cultures and identities (p. 254).

Thus, a minority could be considered to be fully integrated in the economic sense only when its members have achieved similar income levels and occupational status as the mainstream population.

A variety of indicators has been employed to measure the level of structural assimilation in leisure studies and other social sciences. These indicators can be classified into two major groups, namely ones that capture the level of personal interactions between minority members and the mainstream (e.g. Floyd & Gramann, 1993, 1995; Williams & Ortega, 1990), and ones that indicate the degree of economic success that minority members have achieved (e.g. Floyd, Gramann, & Saenz, 1993). One can argue, however, that economic success is not necessarily associated with a high level of social integration with the mainstream and *vice versa*. Thus, it appears warranted to separate these two dimensions of structural assimilation. Consequently, in this study structural assimilation will be divided into (1) *primary structural assimilation*, capturing personal interactions with the mainstream, and (2) *economic assimilation*, reflecting social position.

One can expect that at least certain constraints on leisure faced by an individual would depend on his/her primary structural assimilation level. Probably the most intuitive way in which social isolation can enter into one's constraints is through limiting access to and awareness of leisure opportunities. For those immigrants who have very few contacts outside the ethnic community, their leisure life is also likely to be confined by its bounds. Thus, they may be less aware of opportunities for certain recreation activities, they may have difficulties in finding appropriate leisure partners, and they may be restricted in their choice of service providers (Stodolska & Jackson, 1998). On the other hand, immigrants with low levels of primary structural assimilation may be so unaware of the world existing outside their community that they would not perceive these limitations as constraints. Another transmission mechanism between primary structural assimilation and constraints on leisure can be related to social pressures exerted by the ethnic community on its members. Some leisure activities popular among the mainstream population may not be socially acceptable for minority members, either because of their being in direct conflict with ethnic value systems or their being ridiculed as strange or unusual (Carrington et al., 1987; Glyptis, 1985; Matejko & Matejko, 1974; Taylor &

Hegarty, 1985). By the same token, personal relations with the members of certain outgroups or with the mainstream in general may lead to social condemnation (Woodard, 1988).

One may expect that the level of economic assimilation will have a direct bearing on leisure constraints experienced by a minority group members. Income and occupational status can influence not only the direct expenditure on leisure activities, but also the accessibility of transportation (Washburne, 1978; West, 1989), availability and distribution of free time, and the physical abilities of an individual. These effects should be more pronounced for those minorities whose economic standing is significantly below the national standards. As is evident from the results of the recent national census, the Polish immigrant population in Canada is an example of a minority that has not achieved much economic success either in comparison with the population at large or relative to other immigrant groups (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1997)[1]. Immigrants from Poland are generally less likely than other immigrants to be employed full time, they do not hold professional or management positions as often as others, they endure below average incomes, and have markedly higher incidence of poverty than the general population. Moreover, Polish immigrants are characterized by dramatically higher unemployment rates in comparison to the Canadian-born population (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1997). Longer spells of unemployment that are often common among immigrants, especially during the immediate period following their arrival, can have a significant effect on a person's perception of free time ("leisure as burden"), on one's mental state, and can reduce disposable income and increase financial uncertainty (Glyptis, 1989; Russell & Stage, 1996).

### *3.3.3 Behavioral - Receptional Assimilation*

The concept of receptional assimilation was introduced by Williams and Ortega (1990), who combined two of Gordon's (1964) original dimensions of assimilation: attitude receptional assimilation (signifying absence of prejudice) and behavior receptional

[1] The Polish immigrant population, according to Census Canada, refers to those with landed-immigrant status (whether or not they are currently Canadian citizens) born in Poland. Children born in Canada to Polish immigrants are not included in the immigrant population from Poland but are included in the Canadian-born population. Cited socio-economic indicators have been age-standardized so the comparisons between the immigrant and Canadian-born population could be meaningful.

assimilation (signifying absence of discrimination). In the field of leisure sciences, measures of behavioral receptional assimilation alone have been used as a proxy for receptional assimilation given that reliable information regarding attitude receptional assimilation is difficult to obtain from minority respondents and that the attitude receptional assimilation is only defined at the group level (Floyd et al., 1993). A similar approach will be adopted in this study.

A substantial volume of evidence suggests that discrimination or fear thereof affects not only minorities' leisure participation patterns but also the benefits from and enjoyment of leisure activities (Blahna & Black, 1992; Feagin, 1991; Philipp, 1995; Stodolska & Jackson, 1998; West, 1989). It has been found that minorities who experience discrimination in parks, beaches, restaurants, at pools and in campgrounds are less likely to use public recreation areas frequented by members of the mainstream and that they devise various techniques to protect themselves from racially motivated attacks. Thus, in this study a negative relationship between perceived discrimination and importance of leisure constraints will be anticipated.

## 3.4 Methods

This paper emerges from the third stage of a multi-stage, multi-method research project. Following a small-scale quantitative questionnaire pilot survey (Stage 1), a qualitative component consisting of in-depth interviews was completed (Stage 2). These interviews served as the foundation for the development of a more comprehensive, broader, and larger-scale questionnaire survey (Stage 3) than was conducted in Stage 1.

### *3.4.1 Questionnaire Design and Administration*

The findings obtained in the qualitative stage of the project (Stage 2) were used to design a quantitative survey (Stage 3) that was conducted between December, 1996 and March, 1997. Five hundred self-administered questionnaires were distributed by mail among first-generation Polish immigrants with the individual as the unit of analysis. A list of Polish sounding-names was selected from the city telephone directory. Even though many Poles do not have what one would consider a typical Polish name, I believed that

such a selection process introduced only a slight bias by excluding intermarried immigrants and those who had changed their names, since one can reasonably assume that all the other individuals with or without Polish-sounding names would not differ with respect to any of the key characteristics relevant to the study. Furthermore, individuals without telephones as well as those with unlisted telephone numbers were excluded from the sample which would potentially introduce certain bias by omitting the poorest and the most affluent population strata. Subsequently all selected individuals were contacted by telephone to verify their ethnic descent. All potential respondents with disconnected telephone numbers as well as those individuals who claimed not to be Polish immigrants were removed from the sample. As a result of this process, a list of five hundred suitable individuals was created. Despite its possible bias towards less assimilated respondents, such a selection procedure had to be adopted because all other available lists of Polish immigrants had been compiled by various Polish ethnic organizations and businesses and thus were believed to be even more biased toward "ethnically enclosed" individuals.

The 500 anonymous questionnaires were mailed out in late November of 1996. In order to reduce gender bias respondents were asked that the questionnaire was to be completed by the member of the household who had had his/her birthday most recently. As a result of the first mail-out, 213 questionnaires were returned, including 179 properly completed questionnaires. In January of 1997 three hundred reminder notices along with another copy of the questionnaire were mailed to individuals randomly selected from the original list. The second mail-out yielded 105 properly completed questionnaires. Twenty responses had to be excluded since they had been obtained from individuals who settled in Canada prior to 1979. Thus the effective sample size was further reduced to 264 responses from individuals who immigrated to Canada in 1979 or later and thus could be classified as belonging to the most recent Solidarity wave. After excluding unemployed respondents for whom economic assimilation scores could not be calculated, the final sample with 236 cases was obtained. The sample consisted of 156 males (66.1%) and 80 females (33.9%). Their ages ranged from 24 to 66 with a mean of 42. All respondents had settled in Canada between 1979 and 1996 with the average length of residence being around nine years.

The questionnaire was initially written in English and subsequently translated into Polish by the author. The accuracy of the translation was independently verified by four individuals fluent both in Polish and in English. The questionnaire consisted of forty-seven questions concerning, among other issues, language preference and proficiency, diet choices, leisure participation, leisure constraints and motivations, attitudes towards and participation in Polish ethnic organizations, attitudes towards ethnic holidays and customs, ethnic background of close friends, types of contacts maintained with friends and relatives living in Poland, religious affiliation, types and locations of experienced discrimination, and questions regarding socio-economic characteristics. With several exceptions (i.e. age and length of stay in Canada), all the questions were of a close-ended nature. Scale questions were used whenever there was a need to measure level of agreement, frequency, or relative importance.

The choice and format of questions reflected the need to accommodate three important factors. First, the questionnaire had to capture the information necessary to verify relevant theoretical concepts (e.g., Gordon's theory of assimilation). Secondly, questions needed to be formulated in a way that some meaningful comparison with the findings of existing research could be attempted. Finally, the questionnaire had to be designed so that specific characteristics of the population under study could be detected. It became apparent after the initial pilot study (Phase 1), that some widely accepted question formats were not effective for the purpose of studying this population. Respondents frequently had difficulties with self-assessment of certain abilities such as their language proficiency. Thus, some questions were modified to accommodate for these problems. For example, English language proficiency was measured by providing a series of statements describing "typical" levels of language fluency and asking respondents to choose one that they felt best described their abilities.

Information gathered from the in-depth interviews helped to design certain questions such as the ones about leisure constraints in which a list of items was presented. Besides conventional ones, other items of particular importance for this immigrant population, such as language difficulties, were included. Also, appropriate scales for some questions had to be devised. Some questions, such as the ones concerning the types of

discrimination, as well as all the questions containing statements about leisure behavior and diet choices were based entirely on the information obtained from the interviews.

### *3.4.2 Concept Measurement*

Since *acculturation* is a process of cultural change and culture encompasses far more than merely the language that one speaks, several other indicators besides language proficiency and use were applied to establish a measure of acculturation. In particular, the questionnaire was designed to solicit information regarding religious affiliation, dietary preferences, and adherence to certain North American holidays (see Table 3.1 for detailed description of questions used in the study). Level of *primary structural assimilation* was established on the basis of three questions. Respondents were asked to indicate the ethnic composition of their close friends, to rate the importance of frequenting leisure- or culture-oriented establishments or events within the Polish community, and to evaluate the importance of selected services offered by Polish-speaking individuals. Two questions were used to establish the level of *economic assimilation*. Respondents were asked to assign their personal, annual income before taxes into one of several broad categories and to state the minimum level of education necessary to be employed and successfully perform professional duties at their current job. *Behavioral receptional assimilation* was assessed using a single question about respondents' perceived frequency of experienced discrimination. Respondents were asked to indicate how often they encountered discriminatory treatment triggered by their ethnic origin, accent, or their immigrant status.

Perceived importance of several types of *leisure constraints* constituted the dependent variable in this study. In order to solicit information on the constraints they experienced, respondents were asked to think about leisure in their life and to indicate the importance of the given reasons for not participating or for having limited participation in leisure or recreational activities. Besides conventional types of constraints, the questionnaire included a series of "immigrant specific" constraints developed on the basis of information obtained from in-depth interviews.

### *3.4.3 Analysis*

Factor analysis was used to create a classification of constraints suitable for studying immigrant populations. Based on this classification, average total scores of the perceived importance of each constraint dimension were calculated by summing up responses and dividing by the number of items. Then, non-hierarchical cluster analysis was used to assign each case to an appropriate assimilation group. Finally, OLS regression with heteroskedasticity consistent covariance matrix analysis was used to estimate the relationships between perceived importance scores of each of the constraint dimension and a series of regressors, including assimilation dummies.

## 3.5 Findings

### *3.5.1 Dimensions of Constraints*

Factor analysis was used to isolate dimensions of constraints. The method of principal components with varimax rotation yielded 5 distinct dimensions that accounted for 61% of the total variance (Table 3.2). The criterion of Eigen value greater than one combined with a visual inspection of the Scree Plot was used in identifying the number of factors to be extracted. From the original list of 13 constraints one constraint, namely problems with transportation was left out after factoring. Five scales were created by summing each respondent's score on each item with factor loadings greater than 0.5 in a given dimension and then dividing by the number of significant items in that dimension.

The first factor, labeled *immigration related constraints*, accounted for almost 22% of the total variance. Large (>0.50) loadings occurred for two constraints, namely not being at ease among non-Polish Canadians and not speaking English well enough. These constraints could be applicable only to ethnic minorities and to immigrant populations in particular and thus it was not surprising that they were related.

The second factor, explaining 12.3% of the total variance, had large factor loadings on variables that could considered as *universal constraints* typically experienced by any individual, namely lack of money, lack of time, being too tired after hard work. It appears somewhat unusual that these constraints formed a single dimension, given that the majority of general population studies have separated time and money as two distinct

dimensions of leisure constraints. As Jackson (1997) has suggested, time commitments and costs are two distinct dimensions of leisure constraints that are applicable to any group regardless of its socio-economic characteristics. Moreover, these constraints usually exhibit different patterns of association with other relevant variables (Jackson & Henderson, 1995).This apparent contradiction of a generally accepted result can be explained in several ways. First, the list of constraints used in this study was partially based on in-depth interviews with Polish immigrants (Phase 2 of the project) and thus included constraints unique to immigrant populations. Consequently, the results might not be fully comparable with that of other studies that dealt with general population. Second, immigrant groups such as Poles may be characterized by a greater degree of homogeneity in terms of employment and income characteristics than the general population. A large proportion of the sample was employed at low-paying, physically-demanding positions and might have had to work long hours to be able to support themselves and their families. It is not uncommon for some individuals to hold two or three low paying jobs concurrently (Heydenkorn, 1990). Immigrants may choose this pattern of employment for a variety of reasons. For some the need to support large families combined with inadequate skills and social abilities might make it necessary to increase their workloads beyond usual norms. Others may try to accumulate as much wealth as possible in a short period either to realize the "American dream" through starting their own small business or simply to be able to afford things like a car, some furniture, or down payment on a house (Heydenkorn, 1990). However, regardless of their motivations, among immigrants we are likely to find a large proportion of people who are tired after hard work, who do not have much free time, and who have very little money to spend.

The third factor, labeled *work related circumstances*, accounted for 10.6% of the total variance. High factor loadings were observed for three constraint items, namely for unsuitable living arrangements, lack of set work hours, and inability to take longer time off. These items can be related since they are most likely to be experienced by individuals who are employed in unskilled positions. People who work as janitors, caretakers or domestic workers are often unable to take longer vacations or have to be on call even when they have their time off. Since such individuals usually fall into low income

category one can argue that their choice of housing is quite limited, and thus they can be highly constrained by factors such as unsuitable living arrangements. In particular, apartment building caretakers (superintendents) who constitute a significant proportion the Polish immigrant workforce, can experience a combination of these three types of constraints solely because of the nature of their employment.

The fourth factor that was extracted describes *social isolation* as a dimension of constraints on leisure. It accounted for 8.6% of the total variance and had large factor loadings on the two constraints of lack of knowledge about where to participate and difficulty in finding co-participants. This particular dimension of constraints is considered to be characteristic to any population and is not limited to immigrants or ethnic minorities (Hultsman, 1995; Jackson, 1993).

What we can refer to as *personal reasons* constituted the final dimension of leisure constraints extracted by the factor analysis. This factor explained 8.0% of the total variance and had large factor loadings on the two variables of lack of necessary skills and lack of physical abilities. This dimension of constraints has been found to be applicable to the general population even though in some studies additional constraint items might be included (Hultsman, 1995; Jackson, 1993).

### *3.5.2 Cluster Analysis*

Non-hierarchical cluster analysis was used to identify groups of people according to their levels of acculturation, primary structural assimilation, and economic assimilation (Table 3.3). Since an ordinal measure of various assimilation levels was required, the ordering of cluster centers had to be consistent across all the included variables. Initially, a five cluster solution had been computed but it did not satisfy the consistency criterion. As the number of clusters was being reduced, it became apparent that there existed a strong bimodality in the data. The bimodality exhibited itself by cluster centers being tightly spread around two distant values for the majority of variables. By further reducing the number of clusters to two, the problem of cluster centers' bimodal behavior was eliminated and consistency of cluster centers ordering was achieved. Thus, a two cluster solution dividing the sample into "low assimilation" and "high assimilation" groups was deemed to be most suitable for further analysis.

Since only one variable was used to measure behavioral-receptional assimilation, it was not appropriate to use cluster analysis to group respondents in this case. Given that only two groups needed to be isolated, the classification was accomplished using the mean score as a dividing point.

### *3.5.3 Regression Analysis*

Regression analysis was used to estimate relationships between the five dimensions of constraints on leisure derived from factor analysis and various types of assimilation. Since I suspected that heteroscedasticity could be present in the model, OLS with heteroscedasticity consistent covariance matrix was applied in all estimations (White, 1980). Since GLS was not a viable option given the impossibility of effective modeling of the heteroscedastic structure, I opted for heteroscedasticity consistent covariance matrix estimation despite its inefficiency problem. This estimation method yields consistent standard error values and thus is preferred to OLS if heteroscedasticity is suspected.

One regression model was estimated for each dimension of constraints with the average constraints importance score as a dependent variable (Table 3.4). Besides intercept dummy variables for highly assimilated individuals in each of the four assimilation categories, a number of other variables commonly believed to influence constraints on leisure were used. In particular, gender and marital status dummies, age, age squared, and years of schooling variables were included as regressors (Howard & Crompton, 1984; Jackson & Searle, 1985; Scott & Munson, 1994; Searle & Jackson, 1985). The variable for age squared was used to capture possible nonlinearities in the importance of certain constraint dimensions over an individual's lifetime.

The columns in Table 3.4 represent the estimated coefficients and standard errors for regressions on each of the five dimensions of constraints. The first three regressions are overall significant at 0.01 level, regression (4) at 0.05 level, whereas regression (5) is not significant. Although $R^2$ values cannot be directly compared given that the dependent variable is different in each of the regressions, they suggest that the model is most effective in explaining variations in immigration-related constraints ($R^2$=0.23). All the statistically significant coefficients on assimilation dummy variables have negative signs.

The finding that the importance of constraints on leisure generally diminishes with increasing assimilation levels is consistent with the Hypothesis 1. While it is possible that assimilation may not be a determinant of certain types of constraints on leisure in the majority of cases, it is difficult to argue that constraints can be actually reinforced by assimilation. Consequently, I decided to use one-tailed significance tests for all coefficients on assimilation dummy variables.

Immigration-related constraints (1) were significantly less important for highly acculturated immigrants ($\alpha<0.01$), as well as for those characterized by a high degree of primary structural ($\alpha<0.05$) and economic ($\alpha<0.01$) assimilation. Universal constraints (2) appeared to diminish along with increasing primary structural assimilation level ($\alpha<0.05$) and with decreasing inter-group distance ($\alpha<0.05$). Perceived importance of work related constraints (3) was negatively related to all types of assimilation with the exception of acculturation (see Table 3.4). Coefficients on primary structural assimilation, economic assimilation, and behavioral receptional assimilation dummy variables were significant at ($\alpha<0.10$, $\alpha<0.05$, and $\alpha<0.01$ levels respectively. Somewhat surprisingly, the social isolation constraint dimension (4) appeared to be influenced only by the behavioral receptional assimilation level ($\alpha<0.10$). In agreement with Hypothesis 2, personal constraints (5) were not related to any dimension of assimilation.

Joint significance tests for assimilation dummy variables and for the remaining explanatory variables were performed for regressions (1) through (4). Since model (5) was not overall significant, no tests were performed for this model. In the models with immigration related constraints (df=4,226; F=8.81), universal constraints (df=4,226; F=3.92), and work related constraints (df=4,226;F=6.91) as the dependent variable, assimilation dummies were jointly significant ($\alpha<0.01$) whereas the socio-economic regressors were not. On the other hand, joint tests on the model with social isolation constraints as the regressand (4) indicated that socioeconomic variables were jointly significant (df=5,226; F=2.56; $\alpha<0.05$) and that assimilation dummies were not significantly different from zero. Results of these tests suggested that among ethnic minorities at least some dimensions of constraints on leisure (1-3) may be more closely related to the degree of assimilation than to socio-economic characteristics.

## 3.6 Discussion

The study was intended to explore both the static and the dynamic characteristics of constraints on leisure experienced by an immigrant population. The set of constraints of immigrants was found to differ from that of the mainstream with respect to two distinct attributes. First, immigrants experienced certain constraints that were not commonly found among the general population. Second, constraints on leisure of immigrants appeared to form different dimensions than those isolated for the mainstream population. Besides these static characteristics, findings of the study suggested that sets of constraints experienced by immigrants exhibit dynamic behavior by evolving as individuals become more assimilated. Whereas not all dimensions of constraints appeared to be affected by all types of assimilation, in agreement with Hypothesis 1, whenever an association was present the perceived importance of constraints tended to decrease along with the increasing assimilation level. Thus, it is likely that the leisure of immigrants is most severely constrained immediately after their arrival and that some of these constraints have a tendency to decline in significance as people adapt to the new environment. Besides the presence of a certain set of constraints that are unique to ethnic minority populations, other constraints commonly encountered by the mainstream can be reinforced for those minority members who are not well adjusted. However, consistently with Hypothesis 2, the findings implied that intrapersonal constraints solely related to an individual's abilities and personal characteristics tended to be invariant on any dimension of assimilation.

Immigrants are likely to experience certain constraints on leisure that are not applicable to the general population such as insufficient language skills or not feeling at ease among the mainstream. Perceived importance of this type of constraints was measured by the *immigration related constraints* variable. Not surprisingly, these constraints were less important for more acculturated individuals. Since this measure of acculturation level included English language proficiency and use variables, it appears reasonable that the leisure of immigrants with a better command of the official language will be less constrained in their leisure by language difficulties. Similarly, one can argue that diminishing cultural distance due to adopting mainstream religion, diet preferences,

or holidays could make immigrants' interactions with the general population easier and more enjoyable.

Another assimilation subprocess that was found to influence immigration related constraints was primary structural assimilation. One can argue that immigrants who are largely confined to the ethnic community both with respect to their personal contacts as well as economic and social interactions may become more likely to perceive out-groups (i.e. the mainstream) as alien or threatening, which in turn may contribute to their uneasiness in leisure engagements outside of their community. Being confined within a relatively small circle of people may lead to the creation and reinforcement of misperceptions as to the nature of the surrounding social environment (Allport, 1954; Case, Greeley, & Fuchs, 1989). However, one has to keep in mind that the causality may work in the opposite direction -- individuals who are not capable of adapting and who are likely to feel particularly uneasy in unfamiliar situations may choose to confine themselves to ethnic ghettos.

Immigrants with higher levels of economic assimilation were found to report less immigration related constraints on leisure. One can argue that individuals who are more affluent and who work in more prestigious occupations are likely to have an opportunity for more frequent interactions with the mainstream population on the professional level and thus find such interactions in leisure to be less stressful. However, given that I controlled for ethnic enclosure by including primary structural assimilation in the model, the frequency of such interactions was not necessarily behind this relationship. Less successful immigrants can engage in such interactions on an equally frequent basis but perceive them differently. Since economic success is often associated with a certain degree of confidence, highly economically assimilated individuals who feel better about themselves may find it easier to develop personal contacts with members of the mainstream.

Perceived importance of *universal constraints* (i.e. time, money, too tired after work) was found to be inversely related to primary structural and behavioral-receptional assimilation levels. In general, one can expect immigrants to work more and consume less out of their income than the general population. Since a large proportion of immigrants settle in the host country as mature individuals but do not have any

significant savings, such a phenomenon can be quite easily explained. First, according to Hall's (1978) hypothesis, people are expected to smooth consumption levels across their lifetimes. Given that for immigrants the productive period (i.e. the period before their retirement age) is shorter in comparison to the expected duration of their retirement, they need to save more to be able to consume at the same level. Similarly, evidence exists that people who expect their employment income to fall in the near future are likely to work harder while they still can and thus have less time for leisure activities (Kydland & Prescott, 1982). These tendencies are likely to be less pronounced among immigrants who are not ethnically confined since both their consumption patterns and their leisure behavior will be more likely to mirror that of the mainstream population. Social pressure and greater exposure to the mainstream standards of behavior can make such individuals more conformist in terms of their work effort decisions and consumption patterns. Consequently, more primary structurally assimilated immigrants can be expected to experience less money related constraints for a given income level and have more time available for leisure participation.

Furthermore, it has been suggested that for some immigrants, wealth *accumulation* in itself may be a very important life objective. For such individuals neither their leisure nor their consumption can bring as much satisfaction as increasing their net worth. It appears that such tendencies for what one could refer to as "money illusion" tend to be reinforced by ethnic confinement (Heydenkorn, 1990). As a result, we may expect individuals with low levels of primary structural assimilation to experience more universal constraints. People affected by this "Scrooge syndrome" would tend to work too hard to find time and strength to engage in leisure activities and at the same time they would spend too little out of their income to be able to afford to participate.

Surprisingly, no significant relationship was found between the "universal constraints" score and the economic assimilation level. Since this dimension of constraints contains items such as "lack of money" and "lack of time" that are usually included in distinct dimensions, one can expect that the effects of economic assimilation on components of this dimension may average out.

The finding of an association between the level of behavioral-receptional assimilation and experience of "universal constraints" can be attributed to the fact that

discrimination in the workplace may lead to a greater effort and longer work hours required for immigrants to achieve a certain income. The existence of workplace discrimination against ethnic minorities is well documented and can take the form of lesser pay for equal responsibilities, being passed over for promotions, or of an implicit expectation that minority members should work harder than others employed at the same position (Feagin & Feagin, 1978; Hirschman & Wong, 1984; Li, 1987; Satzewich & Li, 1987). Since for white minorities discrimination is more often experienced at work than in other settings (Driedger & Mezoff, 1981; Stodolska & Jackson, 1998), those Poles who are less behaviorally-receptionally assimilated were most likely to be subjected to unequal treatment in their professional life. One can anticipate that such individuals would tend to work longer hours and to perform the least desirable tasks and as result would be more tired and have less time available for leisure activities. One could argue, however, that immigrants who have to exert above average effort for a given type of work and income level due to their personal characteristics may tend to attribute their disadvantaged position to discrimination.

*Work related constraints* were found to be more important for immigrants with a lesser degree of primary structural assimilation, economic assimilation, and behavioral-receptional assimilation. Primary structural assimilation may affect this class of constraints either through type of housing or through nature of occupation. Although Poles in Edmonton are not subject to the ghettoization that is commonly found in larger urban centers (Balakrishnan,1976), they do tend to concentrate in some areas of the city that are characterized by certain types of housing such as low rise and high rise apartment buildings (Statistics Canada, 1991). Since more ethnically enclosed individuals are more likely to live in such areas, their leisure can be constrained due to certain limitations that such dwellings may present. For instance, it may be difficult to engage in some activities such as gardening or hobbies that require use of garages, sheds or backyards. Moreover, as a result of networking, enclosed individuals can be more likely to be employed in certain types of occupations (e.g. caretakers, taxi drivers) whose characteristics such as lack of work schedules or the need to be on call all the time may reinforce this dimension of leisure constraints.

The finding that economic assimilation is negatively associated with work related constraints can be explained in a reasonable fashion. Those immigrants who have achieved a degree of economic success are more likely to be employed full time and, as full time workers, to have more regular work schedules and to be eligible for paid vacations. Whereas for unskilled workers longer vacations may be equivalent to being laid off, employees with higher qualifications are generally more difficult to replace due to higher hiring and training costs and thus have a better bargaining position when it comes to negotiating a leave. Also, due to their higher incomes, highly economically assimilated immigrants can afford housing better suited to their individual lifestyles and thus can be less constrained in their leisure by unsuitable living arrangements.

As findings of the study show, people with higher levels of behavioral-receptional assimilation tended to perceive work related constraints to be of lesser importance. This finding can be potentially explained by the fact that immigrants who experience most discrimination at the workplace may be forced to perform the least desirable tasks and to work on the least desired shifts (Feagin & Feagin, 1978; Heydenkorn, 1990). This phenomenon may not necessarily be caused by actual discrimination but in some cases can be viewed as such by individuals who seek justification for their disadvantaged position.

The perceived importance of *social isolation* constraints was found to be lower among immigrants with higher levels of behavioral-receptional assimilation. Even after controlling for primary structural assimilation, one can anticipate that individuals who find discrimination to be a significant problem would be less likely to seek social contacts outside the circle of their close friends. The incidence of discrimination has been shown to increase along with increasing frequency of social interactions with strangers (Feagin, 1991). Thus, one can argue that regardless of the extent of one's contacts within the ethnic community or lack thereof, a person who fears discrimination will be more reluctant to seek new social contacts and consequently he/she will have more limited choice of leisure partners as well as potentially restricted awareness of existing leisure opportunities (Stodolska & Jackson, 1998).

Surprisingly, this dimension of constraints did not exhibit any association with the other three assimilation components. In particular, no relationship was found to exist

between social isolation constraints and primary structural assimilation level. One could expect that more ethnically enclosed individuals should perceive constraints such as the inability to find suitable leisure partners or lack of awareness of existing opportunities as more important. However, one may also argue that this group of immigrants is possibly quite content with their leisure within the ethnic community and thus they may not feel any desire to start participating in leisure activities with members of the mainstream. Similarly, they may not feel that any new leisure opportunities that they could be interested in are available outside their community and thus they may not consider this lack of awareness as a constraint to their leisure.

## 3.7 Conclusions

Several important characteristics of constraints on leisure among immigrants are apparent from the findings of this study. First, immigrant populations are subject to certain constraints that are not found in the general population. Second, the standard dimensions of leisure constraints that typically hold for the general population appear to differ somewhat for minority groups. Furthermore, the evidence points to a conclusion that leisure constraints of immigrants are subject to some distinct dynamic processes. After controlling for age, the relative importance of certain types of constraints evolves along with changing assimilation levels. Although some of the findings may appear unexpected (e.g. lack of relationship between social isolation constraints and primary structural assimilation), the majority of the findings appear to confirm expectations (i.e. lack of association between assimilation and personal constraints).

The findings of this study introduce several interesting elements to our understanding of adaptation processes among immigrants. Besides the general result that the perceived importance of leisure constraints is negatively associated with assimilation level and that the constraints set found among immigrant populations differs somewhat from that of the mainstream, several more specific observations can be derived from the results of this study. Acculturation level that had been expected to strongly affect leisure constraints of immigrants was found to have a significant effect only on a single dimension of constraints. The majority of the existing research, both in leisure studies

and in other fields of social inquiry, tends to emphasize the importance of this aspect of assimilation, with particular attention being paid to its language dimension. However, the findings of this study suggest that other assimilation subprocesses whose significance has been commonly downplayed can potentially have considerable effects on constraints on leisure experienced by immigrants. In particular, behavioral receptional assimilation can significantly influence many types of constraints that on a superficial level appear to be unrelated to perceptions of discrimination. Thus, one may argue that the negative impact of constraints on leisure behavior of immigrants can be reduced if the discriminatory practices both in leisure and in work settings are curtailed.

Besides their contribution to our understanding of leisure constraints specific to immigrant populations, the findings of this study enable us to view the general theory of leisure constraints from a somewhat different perspective. One of the most important additions to the knowledge on the subject are the findings that some groups may experience entirely different types of constraints and that the conventional dimensions of constraints believed to hold for any population may require some modifications before they can be successfully applied to minority populations. More importantly, however, the analysis has shown that constraints may exhibit dynamic behavior as a function of factors other than age or life-cycle that have been commonly acknowledged by studies of the mainstream. Although the notion of assimilation is not applicable to the general population, the finding that assimilation affects constraints suggests that other dynamic phenomena overlooked by previous research may in fact affect constraints of both the mainstream and of minority groups. Thus, more attention to dynamic aspects of constraints in general appears to be warranted in future work in the field.

Since the existing work in the area of immigrant leisure constraints has been particularly scarce, this study is more of an attempt on exploration of the subject than its detailed analysis. Issues such as the effects of constraints on leisure participation have not been addressed in this project. Similarly, the problem of constraints negotiation in immigrant populations and possible differences in negotiation strategies between minorities and the mainstream need further exploration. Given the potential significance of immigrant populations as a subject of leisure research it appears that further work in this area is warranted. In particular, one could suggest that the validity of existing models

of leisure constraints (Crawford, Jackson, & Godbey, 1991; Jackson, Crawford, & Godbey, 1993) should be tested for special populations such as immigrants. Furthermore, conventional lists of constraints used in analysis could be redesigned so they are applicable both to the mainstream population and to special groups thus allowing for greater comparability. Development of such non-culture specific research tools should be conducive for comparative studies that would allow us to verify whether constraints of immigrants do converge to those of the mainstream with increasing levels of assimilation.

**Table 3.1**
Questions format and response categories

| QUESTIONS | SCALES / RESPONSE CATEGORIES |
|---|---|
| **ACCULTURATION** | |
| ***Language use:*** | |
| 1. Indicate your choice of language in informal activities.<br>"Which language do you usually use in informal conversations at home"; "In which language do you usually read non-professional literature"; "In which language are the newspapers and magazines you usually read written"; "In which language are the radio stations that you usually listen to"; "In which language are the movies that they usually rent" | Polish only; Mostly Polish, some English; Polish and English equally; Mostly English, some Polish; English only |
| ***Language proficiency:*** | |
| 2. Choose the statement that best describes your ability to communicate in English language. | "I speak English fluently on any topic and without an accent"; "I can talk easily about most subjects, but I have an accent, and I can't always find the right words or the proper expressions to use in some subjects"; "I speak English only with difficulty, especially about unfamiliar subjects. However, in the end I can make myself understood"; "I speak English badly. Sometimes I cannot make myself understood, even when speaking about everyday matters" |
| 3. How would you characterize your English language proficiency?<br>Speak; Read; Write; Understand | None; Poor; Fair; Good; Excellent |
| ***Change of religious affiliation:*** | |
| 4. Please, describe your religious affiliation in Poland. | Roman-Catholic; Greek-Orthodox; Protestant; Other Christian; Jewish; Muslim; Other; I was not affiliated with any church |
| 5. Please, describe your current religious affiliation. | Same as in case of religious affiliation in Poland. |
| ***Dietary preferences:*** | |
| 6. Which of the following statements best describes your current diet? | "My diet does not differ substantially from the one I had in Poland"; "My diet consists mostly of traditional Polish food; however it has significant Canadian influences"; "My usual diet includes hardly any traditional Polish food" |
| 7.Indicate your level of agreement with the following statements applied to your dietary preferences.<br>"Since I arrived in Canada I have started to eat more fresh fruits and vegetables"; "My diet has been significantly influenced by a variety of different national foods available in Canada"; "The changes to my lifestyle that I have experienced after coming to Canada make me switch to less time consuming methods of food preparation"; "I am less likely to eat food prepared using lard" | Strongly disagree; Disagree; Neutral; Agree; Strongly agree |
| ***Adherence to holidays widely celebrated in Canada:*** | |
| 8. Indicate which statement best describes your attitude to each of the following Canadian holidays.<br>Thanksgiving; Canada Day; St. Patrick's Day; Remembrance Day; Victoria Day | "I do not observe this holiday in any way"; "I celebrate this holiday only if invited by someone else to do so"; "I celebrate this holiday in some way, however I do not feel strongly attached to the tradition or event behind it"; "I do celebrate this holiday and I feel strongly attached to it" |
| **PRIMARY STRUCTURAL ASSIMILATION** | |
| ***Ethnic composition of close friends:*** | |
| 1. Which of the following statements best describes your close friends (excluding family and relatives as well as individuals with whom you maintain only a professional relationship)? | "Practically all my friends are Polish immigrants"; "Most of my friends are Polish immigrants but I know some Canadians of non-Polish descent with whom I like to socialize"; "Approximately the same number of my friends are of Polish and non-Polish descent"; "Most of my friends are non-Polish Canadians but I know some Polish immigrants with whom I like to socialize"; "Practically all my friends are non-Polish Canadians" |

| | |
|---|---|
| ***Importance of frequenting leisure- or culture-oriented establishments or events within the Polish community:***<br>2. How important to you are the following activities?<br>Attending Polish cultural events; Attending Polish concerts; Attending Polish night clubs/ discos; Eating out in Polish restaurants; Active participation in Polish ethnic/cultural; organizations; Participation in Polish sports or recreation oriented clubs or organizations | Not important; Somewhat important; Important; Very important |
| ***Importance of selected services offered by Polish-speaking individuals:***<br>3. How important to you is the availability of the following services being offered by Polish Canadians?<br>Medical services; Dental services; Legal services; Travel agencies; Real estate agencies | Not important; Somewhat important; Important; Very important |
| **ECONOMIC ASSIMILATION**<br>***Income:***<br>1. In which of the following categories your annual personal income before taxes fall? | Less than $10,000; $10,001 to $20,000; $20,001 to $40,000; $40,001 to $60,000; $60,001 or more |
| ***Education:***<br>2. What is the minimum level of education necessary to be employed at your position and to successfully perform your professional duties (if you are self-employed please indicate the level of education you feel is necessary to run you business)? | Elementary school; Junior high school; Senior high school; Technical or vocational program; University undergraduate program; University graduate program |
| **BEHAVIORAL – RECEPTIONAL ASSIMILATION**<br>***Frequency of experienced discrimination***<br>1. Have you ever found yourself in a situation when you felt uneasy or awkward either because of being an immigrant or because of your accent? Please, indicate how frequently, if ever, situations like that have occurred to you in each of the following settings.<br>At your workplace; On the street or in public transportation; In a government office; In a non-government office; In a contact with police; In supermarkets or department stores; In small stores; In banks; In schools or colleges; In hotels or motels; In resorts; In restaurants; In parks and other publicly accessible recreation areas; In privately owned recreation-oriented clubs and associations; At parties; While participating in sports | Never experienced; Once; Occasionally; Often; Very often |
| **CONSTRAINTS**<br>1. Thinking about leisure in your life, please indicate how important is of the following reasons for not participating or for having limited participation in leisure or recreational activities.<br>Lack of money; Lack of time; Lack of transportation; Lack of knowledge about available acilities; Lack of skills; Difficulties with finding appropriate partners; Being too tired after hard work; Lack of physical abilities; Being not at ease among non-Polish Canadians; Not speaking English well enough; Unsuitable living arrangements; Lack of set work hours; Inability to take longer time off | Not important; Somewhat important; Important; Very important |

**Table 3.2**

Factor Analysis of Leisure Constraints for Immigrants

| Item | Factor Name and Factor Loading | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Immigration Related (1) | Universal (2) | Work Related (3) | Social Isolation (4) | Personal Reasons (5) |
| (1) *Immigration Related:* | | | | | |
| Not speaking English well enough | .895 | | | | |
| Not being at ease among non-Polish Canadians | .879 | | | | |
| (2) *Universal:* | | | | | |
| Lack of time | | .780 | | | |
| Lack of money | | .590 | | | |
| Being too tired after hard work | | .505 | | | |
| (3) *Work Related Circumstances:* | | | | | |
| Lack of set work hours | | | .815 | | |
| Inability to take longer time off | | | .642 | | |
| Unsuitable living arrangements | | | .579 | | |
| (4) *Social Isolation:* | | | | | |
| Lack of knowledge where to participate | | | | .831 | |
| Difficulty in finding co-participants | | | | .689 | |
| (5) *Personal Reasons:* | | | | | |
| Lack of physical abilities | | | | | .822 |
| Lack of skills | | | | | .647 |
| Eigenvalue | 2.80 | 1.59 | 1.38 | 1.11 | 1.05 |
| Proportion of Variance (%) | 21.60 | 12.30 | 10.60 | 8.60 | 8.00 |
| Cumulative Proportion of Variance Explained (%) | 21.60 | 33.80 | 44.40 | 53.00 | 61.00 |
| Alpha (scale reliability) | 0.82 | 0.50 | 0.51 | 0.49 | 0.55 |
| Scale mean score | 2.79 | 7.31 | 4.92 | 2.89 | 2.91 |

**Table 3.3**
Cluster Analysis of Polish Immigrants by Assimilation Levels

| Dimension of Assimilation | Levels of Assimilation | |
|---|---|---|
| | Low | High |
| (1) *Acculturation* | | |
| English use[a] | 12.49 | 18.20 |
| Spoken English ability[b] | 2.73 | 1.98 |
| Overall command of English[c] | 11.94 | 16.14 |
| Change of religion[d] | 0.03 | 0.11 |
| Adherence to Canadian holidays[e] | 10.30 | 11.65 |
| Self-description of diet[f] | 1.73 | 2.13 |
| Change of dietary preferences[g] | 13.64 | 16.18 |
| *N* | 86 | 150 |
| (2) *Primary structural* | | |
| Ethnic composition of close friends[h] | 1.72 | 2.23 |
| Importance of Polish cultural events[i] | 2.37 | 3.12 |
| Importance of Polish concerts | 2.28 | 3.09 |
| Importance of Polish night clubs/discos | 3.42 | 3.79 |
| Importance of Polish restaurants | 3.30 | 3.79 |
| Importance of participation in Polish ethnic organizations | 2.77 | 3.48 |
| Importance of participation in Polish sports and recreation clubs | 3.05 | 3.69 |
| Importance of Polish medical services | 1.39 | 3.17 |
| Importance of Polish dental services | 1.72 | 3.48 |
| Importance of Polish legal services | 1.81 | 3.64 |
| Importance of Polish travel agencies | 2.03 | 3.45 |
| Importance of Polish insurance agencies | 2.82 | 3.88 |
| Importance of Polish real estate agencies | 2.63 | 3.82 |
| *N* | 90 | 146 |
| (3) *Economic assimilation* | | |
| Education necessary to be employed[j] | 2.09 | 4.47 |
| Annual personal income[k] | 2.41 | 3.36 |
| *N* | 85 | 151 |

[a] Scale ranged from 5 to 25, with 25 indicating greatest English use.
[b] Scale ranged from 1 to 4, with 1 indicating highest spoken English ability.
[c] Scale ranged from 4 to 20, with 20 indicating highest overall command of English.
[d] Scale ranged from 0 to 1, with 1 indicating religion change.
[e] Scale ranged from 5 to 20, with 20 indicating strongest adherence to Canadian holidays.
[f] Scale ranged from 1 to 3, with 3 indicating more Canadian/American diet.
[g] Scale ranged from 4 to 20, with 20 indicating highest change of dietary preferences.
[h] Scale ranged from 1 to 5, with 5 indicating highest proportion of Canadian friends.
[i] For all questions rating importance of clubs, events, and services scales ranged from 1 to 4, with 4 indicating lowest importance score.
[j] Scale ranged from 1 to 6, with 1 indicating elementary education and 6 indicating graduate education.
[k] Scale ranged from 1 to 5, with 5 indicating the highest income category.

**Table 3.4**
OLS with HETCOV Regression Analysis of Constraint Scores on Assimilation

| Independent Variables | Dependent Variables | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | IMM_CST | UNIV_CST | WRK_CST | SOCIS_CST | PERS_CST |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| ACCULT | -0.417*** | -0.130 | -0.003 | -0.065 | 0.054 |
| | (0.109) | (0.110) | (0.102) | (0.093) | (0.098) |
| PR_STR | -0.173** | -0.180** | -0.133* | 0.059 | -0.025 |
| | (0.102) | (0.102) | (0.095) | (0.084) | (0.084) |
| ECON | -0.235*** | 0.013 | -0.160** | -0.091 | 0.045 |
| | (0.009) | (0.094) | (0.090) | (0.084) | (0.094) |
| ASS_BEH | -0.003 | -0.198** | -0.371*** | -0.120* | -0.071 |
| | (0.081) | (0.091) | (0.082) | (0.081) | (0.071) |
| FEM | 0.030 | 0.179** | -0.044 | 0.025 | 0.162** |
| | (0.088) | (0.094) | (0.081) | (0.081) | (0.089) |
| MARR | 0.096 | -0.111 | -0.088 | -0.237** | -0.222* |
| | (0.125) | (0.133) | (0.113) | (0.136) | (0.149) |
| AGE | -0.007 | 0.014 | -0.017 | -0.056* | 0.038 |
| | (0.062) | (0.056) | (0.042) | (0.042) | (0.042) |
| $AGE^2$ | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.001 | 0.000 |
| | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| YRS_SCH | -0.033** | -0.018 | 0.016 | -0.025** | -0.027* |
| | (0.017) | (0.029) | (0.019) | (0.017) | (0.021) |
| Constant | 2.298** | 2.867*** | 2.332*** | 3.498*** | 1.025 |
| | (1.202) | (1.140) | (0.818) | (0.907) | (0.837) |
| $R^2$ | 0.23 | 0.09 | 0.12 | 0.09 | 0.04 |
| $R^2$ adjusted | 0.20 | 0.06 | 0.09 | 0.05 | 0.00 |
| n | 236 | 236 | 236 | 236 | 236 |
| $\sigma^2$ estimate | 0.407 | 0.471 | 0.384 | 0.351 | 0.422 |

* Coefficient significant at $\alpha<0.10$; ** Coefficient significant at $\alpha<0.05$; *** Coefficient significant at $\alpha<0.01$

Values in parentheses represent standard errors.

Note. IMM_CST = immigration related constraints; UNIV_CST = universal constraints; WRK_CST = work related circumstances; SOCIS_CST = social isolation constraints; PERS_CST = personal constraints; ACCULT = high acculturation; PR_STR = high primary structural assimilation; ECON = high economic assimilation; ASS_BEH = high behavioral – receptional assimilation; FEM = female; MARR = married; AGE = chronological age; $AGE^2$ = age squared; YRS_SCH = years of schooling.

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# CHAPTER 4

## Discrimination in Leisure and Work Experienced by a White Ethnic Minority Group

# Discrimination in Leisure and Work Experienced by a White Ethnic Minority Group*

## 4.1 Introduction

For more than three decades, differences in the recreation and leisure behavior of ethnic and racial groups have been the subject of study. During the 1960s and 1970s research focused primarily on comparing participation patterns in recreation activities between African Americans and whites (Mueller & Gurin, 1962; Washburne, 1978). In general it was found that Blacks tended to participate less frequently in wildland recreation activities than the white population (Kelly, 1980; Meeker et al., 1973; Washburne, 1978). In the 1980s and 1990s the scope of studies on the leisure of minority groups expanded to include a wider range of ethnic and racial minorities, such as Hispanic and Asian groups (Allison & Geiger, 1993; Hutchison, 1987; Irwin et. al, 1990; McMillen, 1983).

As part of this literature, and beginning in the late 1980s, issues related to the influence of racial and ethnic discrimination on leisure participation and enjoyment have been accepted as a legitimate area of study (West, 1989). Since that time an increasing number of research projects have attempted to tackle this phenomenon. In varying ways, these studies have shown that discrimination enters into leisure choices and may compromise the benefits that would otherwise be realized if discrimination were absent. The present study may be viewed as a contribution to continuing research on relationships between racial and ethnic discrimination and leisure.

## 4.2 Background and Objectives

### *4.2.1 From Comparative to Holistic Approaches*

Early studies in the leisure of ethnic/racial minorities adopted a comparative approach in their analysis of differences in participation patterns between whites and minority-group

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members. The majority of the research employed Washburne's (1978) marginality-ethnicity thesis to account for these observed differences (Klobus-Edwards, 1981; Stamps and Stamps, 1985). During this period the leisure behavior of ethnic/racial groups was viewed largely as a static phenomenon that was uniform within a particular group and thus could be meaningfully compared with the "typical" leisure behavior of the white mainstream. Since the beginning of the 1980s, research on the leisure of minorities has evolved toward a more holistic approach to studying phenomena associated with minority recreation. In more recent studies, the leisure of ethnic populations is perceived to possess dynamic characteristics of its own and to change constantly as a function of many factors, such as the level of assimilation of its members. This "dynamic" approach has been adopted in a number of studies devoted to analyzing the effects of assimilation on leisure preferences and participation patterns among ethnic and racial minorities (Aguilar, 1990; Floyd and Gramann, 1992, 1993; Floyd, Gramann, & Saenz, 1993).

Besides these issues, during the late 1980s and early 1990s other new trends began to emerge in the literature on the leisure of ethnic/racial minorities. As the emphasis has shifted towards a more holistic view of the phenomena, research on leisure constraints (Karlis, 1993; Philipp, 1995; Rublee and Shaw, 1991), motivations (Carr and Williams, 1993), and the meaning of the leisure experience (Allison, 1988; Allison and Geiger, 1993; Carr and Williams, 1993) has been gaining importance. Findings of these recent studies suggest that the leisure of ethnic/racial minorities is different, not only in terms of participation patterns, but also in terms of distinct sets of motivations, benefits, and constraints associated with leisure.

### *4.2.2 Leisure and Discrimination*

It was also during this period that research on discrimination in leisure and recreation began to be published. A study by West (1989) that attributed under-utilization of regional parks among Detroit's black minority to their fears of discrimination was one of the first attempts to explore the effects of discrimination on leisure behavior. Floyd *et al.* (1993) analyzed the effects of various measures of assimilation, derived from Gordon's (1964) typology, on the use of public recreation areas. Even though Floyd *et al.* did not

find a significant relationship between intergroup distance and participation, perceived discrimination appeared to have a negative effect on the use of recreational sites. Gordon's classification also served as the basis for a study among Hispanic minority members conducted by Floyd and Gramann (1995), who found a relationship between acculturation and structural assimilation on the one hand, and the perception of discrimination in leisure settings on the other hand. In her study of visitors to a wildland recreation area, Chavez (1991, 1993) established that Hispanic-Americans appeared to perceive more discrimination than Anglo-Americans. Similarly, Blahna and Black (1992) found perceived discrimination to be an important inhibiting factor on the use of recreational areas by Chicago's Blacks and Hispanics.

A substantial body of research in leisure studies (e.g., Blahna & Black, 1992; Chavez, 1991, 1993; West, 1989) indicates that ethnic/racial minorities experience a significant degree of discrimination while participating in leisure activities in places such as parks, beaches, and campgrounds. Likewise, relevant research in the fields of sociology and ethnic studies appears to confirm that racial minorities are subject to discrimination in work and school environments as well as in public places (Chan, 1987; Creese, 1987; Feagin, 1991; Li, 1987; Pankiw & Bienvenue, 1990). On the other hand, a limited number of studies outside the field of leisure sciences that have dealt with white ethnic minorities tend to show that discrimination against such groups is likely to be markedly less pronounced in leisure settings as opposed to other environments, such as school or work (e.g., Driedger & Mezoff, 1981).

### *4.2.3 Criticisms of Past Research*

Despite the growing volume and consistent results of research on leisure and discrimination, the literature is not free from limitations. Some earlier studies were based on secondary data that had not been originally intended to be used for analyzing the leisure behavior of ethnic minorities. The nature of available data forced researchers to use racial characteristics alone as a measure of ethnicity, and participation in outdoor recreation as the sole indicator of leisure behavior (Hutchison, 1988). Moreover, the great majority of the existing research dealing with leisure and discrimination has focused

solely on the problems of *visible* minorities, such as Blacks, Hispanics, or Asians. Even though it can be argued these are simultaneously ethnic and racial groups, existing research has not made this distinction clear, nor has it isolated the implications of cultural factors from those of physical differences. Since groups such as Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians differ from the white mainstream with respect to *both* their racial *and* ethnic characteristics, separating the effects of those characteristics on discrimination is extremely difficult. Thus, one needs to turn to other ethnic minorities to investigate issues related to leisure and discrimination. Given their racial similarity to the mainstream, combined with their cultural distinctiveness, Poles in North America appear to be a suitable subject for this kind of investigation.[1]

To make the distinction between ethnicity and race clear, and to expose the implications of this distinction, it is necessary to define these concepts explicitly. According to Berry (1958, quoted by Anderson and Frideres, 1981, p. 36), an *ethnic group* is a group of people

> possessing ties of cultural homogeneity; a high degree of loyalty and adherence to certain basic institutions such as family patterns, religion, and language; distinctive folkways and mores; customs of dress, art, and ornamentation; moral codes and value systems; patterns of recreation; some sort of object to which the group manifests allegiance, such as a monarch, a religion, a language, or a territory; a consciousness of kind, a we-feeling; common descent (perhaps racial), real or imagined; and a political unit.

As opposed to ethnicity, the definition of *race,* although not necessarily excluding cultural and social attributes, largely focuses on the superficial physical characteristics of a particular group of people. According to the traditional strictly physical definition, race is a set of genetically determined physical characteristics, such as skin color, cranial index, or stature (Anderson and Frideres, 1981). Depending on a particular field of study, this definition may be extended to cover a variety of additional factors, yet the physical

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[1] The leisure of the Polish immigrant population in North America has not attracted much attention in the field of leisure studies. Published research in other social sciences addressed some issues related to the leisure of this ethnic group in passing but its focus remains mainly on other problems such as the minority's general social and demographic characteristics (Avery and Fedorowicz, 1982; Heydenkorn, 1969; Kogler, 1969; Mostwin, 1991), history of migration and settlement patterns (e.g. Avery and Fedorowicz, 1982; Brzezinski, 1974; Kobos and Pekacz, 1995; Makowski, 1967, 1987), ethnic organizations (Heydenkorn, 1974, Makowski, 1967, 1987; Radecki, 1974), levels of assimilation and integration (Matejko and Matejko,. 1974; Wojciechowski, 1969), and the Polish ethnic press (Adolf, 1974; Stachniak, 1991).

component of race is almost always included in its definition. Although recent literature on ethnic and racial issues tends to downplay the significance of physiological characteristics as determinants of race or even considers race to be an artificial construct (e.g. Bennett, 1997; Jackson & Penrose, 1993), for the purposes of this research the physiological aspect of race is of crucial importance. While the scientific validity of assigning individuals to a particular race based on superficial physical features may be debatable, it is difficult to argue that physical appearance has no impact on the perception of an individual by the society. Since individuals do use physical appearance, among other factors, to mentally categorize others as members of their in-group or of an out-group, these very characteristics are likely to play a role in the decision making process preceding discriminatory behavior.

Since the so-called "mainstream" is often defined in racial terms (i.e., the white mainstream), racially similar ethnic groups tend to be automatically included in this category. The white population is often perceived as homogenous in cultural terms and consequently it is seen as a convenient benchmark for comparison purposes across racial groups. Such a broad definition of what is understood as the mainstream can potentially introduce significant distortions to studying the leisure of minorities. Some white ethnic groups can in fact be significantly more culturally different from the Anglo-Saxon norm than certain well established racial minorities, yet such white groups continue to be regarded as members of the mainstream. Whereas the provision of leisure-oriented services to members of racial minorities is a subject of much concern in leisure science (Chavez 1991, 1992; Irwin et al., 1990), similar problems of ethnic whites have largely been neglected. Given the cultural characteristics of certain ethnic minorities, there exists a need to explore their leisure behavior and to draw some recommendations concerning the provision of leisure services for such groups. Research on the leisure of ethnic whites appears even more timely if we consider the increasing visibility of such minorities, not only in terms of their cultural contributions but also their economic significance.

As summarized by Hutchison (1988), the major deficiencies of the existing research on leisure of ethnic/racial minorities include:

(a) references to inappropriate background research; (b) the lack of specificity given to definitions of 'race' and 'ethnicity'; (c) the neglect of published research in race and ethnic relations, and (d) the lack of attention given to the activities of other ethnic groups (pp. 16-17).

### *4.2.4 Objectives of the Study*

Our study attempts to address some of these problems by examining issues related to leisure and discrimination among a white ethnic minority group, namely the Polish community in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. Throughout this paper we shall understand ethnic or racial discrimination as "actions or practices carried out by members of dominant racial or ethnic groups that have differential and negative impact on members of subordinate racial or ethnic groups" (Feagin, 1991 pp. 101-102). Although in some circumstances the dominant group may receive differential treatment from a subordinate group, or differential treatment may take place among various subordinate groups, the social consequences of such phenomena are likely to be far less significant than the effects of what is commonly understood as ethnic or racial discrimination. It should be noted that unlike prejudice, which is an irrational and unwarranted opinion or attitude towards a minority, discrimination is not a state of mind but rather its external manifestation (Yu, 1987). In our analysis we shall focus on respondents' perceptions and recollections of discrimination rather than on observations of its actual instances.

This study is an attempt to establish patterns of discrimination characteristic to white ethnic minorities and to explore possible explanations for the apparent differences in such patterns between ethnic as opposed to racial groups. We focus on how Polish immigrants experience discrimination and how it affects their leisure behavior. We also attempt to determine locational patterns of discrimination by comparing the incidence of perceived discriminatory acts in leisure versus non-leisure settings and to explain these patterns in a systematic manner.

## 4.3 Methods

This paper emerges from the second and third stages of a multi-stage, multi-method research project. Following a small-scale quantitative questionnaire pilot survey (Stage 1), a qualitative component consisting of in-depth interviews was completed (Stage 2). This served as the foundation for the development of a more comprehensive, broader, and larger-scale questionnaire survey (Stage 3) than was conducted in Stage 1.

We opted to combine qualitative and quantitative approaches to minimize the adverse effects associated with the sensitive nature of the phenomenon under study. A series of semi-structured in-depth interviews (Stage 2) were conducted with the purpose of developing an understanding of the phenomena associated with discrimination. After the major themes and problems in the area of leisure discrimination had been isolated, we used a questionnaire survey (Stage 3) to verify whether the qualitative findings could be generalized to the wider population.

### *4.3.1 Qualitative Stage*

The information in Stage 2 was collected during the late spring and early summer of 1996 in semi-structured in-depth interviews conducted with thirteen members of the Polish community in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. Questions dealing with leisure and discrimination were a component of a broader interview session concerned with problems of assimilation encountered by recent immigrants to Canada. The interviews were expected to provide insight into the lives of recent immigrants, and -- among other issues -- to assess the extent of their experiences with and perceived effects of discrimination. All interviewees were members of the Solidarity wave of immigrants from Poland who settled in Canada after 1980 (as is the first author of this article). Respondents were initially approached through the first author's contacts among the Polish community in Edmonton and were intentionally selected to represent a variety of age, education, and occupational groups.

The sample consisted of five women and eight men, ranging from 16 to 50 years of age, with an average age of 32. The longest period of time spent in Canada was sixteen

years (in the case of two of the respondents), whereas the youngest interviewee, a 16-year-old girl, had settled in the country only two years prior to the study. The average time of residence in Canada among the respondents was almost nine years. Six of the interviewees were married, one was living in a common-law relationship, two were divorced, and four were single. Respondents represented a spectrum of occupations, mostly of blue collar or service nature. They included a dentist, a car mechanic, a day-care worker, a store clerk, an electrician, a caretaker, a nurse, three students, two taxi drivers, and one unemployed person.

The interviews were conducted in the home of either the interviewee or the first author. Respondents were offered a choice of the questions being asked in Polish or in English. Since all of them felt more confident in their native language, all the interviews were conducted in Polish. Before each interview started, the respondent was informed about the general purpose of the study, the format of the interview, and the topics that the questions would cover. The exact sequence and wording of the questions varied depending on a respondent's personal opinions and characteristics. Additional probes regarding particular subjects were introduced as new topics emerged from the interviews already completed. The interviews lasted between forty-five minutes and four hours and were tape-recorded and transcribed immediately following each session.

The interviews consisted of a series of fairly broad questions sequenced according to a predetermined but flexible interview schedule. Respondents were encouraged to elaborate on issues related to the questions as well as to express their opinions about other matters that they believed to be relevant. Each question was followed by probes designed to gain additional insight into the opinions and characteristics of a particular interviewee. By allowing respondents to express their personal views freely, the interviewer was able to learn about new phenomena, discuss their significance with interviewees, and address them in subsequent interviews with other respondents.

The section of the interview dealing with the issues of leisure and discrimination began with a general question about the existence of ethnic discrimination in Canada. Then, participants were asked to elaborate on the existence of discrimination against specific groups of people, such as Polish immigrants. Respondents who felt that Poles

were subjected to discriminatory practices were asked to elaborate on the subject. The next set of questions was concerned with personal experiences with discrimination. Participants were asked to state whether they themselves had ever been subjected to any form of discrimination, in what circumstances the discriminatory acts had occurred, and who had perpetrated those acts. The respondents were queried about the locations in which discrimination had occurred most frequently, with particular emphasis on the distinction between work/school and leisure settings. They were also asked about any specific places or establishments that they did not frequent for the reason of being made to feel unwelcome. They were also asked whether they had ever experienced uneasy feelings among non-ethnic Canadians, and whether such feelings had contributed to their preference toward the companionship of other Polish immigrants. In addition respondents were asked whether they preferred to interact socially with non-ethnic Canadians or Canadians of other, non-Polish ethnic background and about possible reasons leading to those preferences.

Besides transcribing the exact content of each interview, the first author kept detailed notes on everything she believed to be potentially relevant to the specific issues addressed in this article, as well as contextual information. After all the interview sessions had been transcribed, major themes regarding different aspects of discrimination were noted. We paid particular attention to discussions of the subject that followed the respondents' answers to the initial questions: such an approach allowed us to gain an understanding of perceptions of discrimination in the broader context of the respondents' life experiences and value systems. During the following stage of analysis, the transcripts were re-read and common themes and categories were isolated. We kept track of examples of statements that were consistent with the themes, as well as possible exceptions. Finally, after all the relevant points had been synthesized from the data, the transcripts were read once again to ensure that all relevant aspects of the phenomena had been accounted for.

### *4.3.2 Quantitative Stage*

The findings obtained in the qualitative stage of the project (Stage 2) were used to design a quantitative survey (Stage 3) that was conducted between December, 1996 and March, 1997. Five hundred self-administered questionnaires were distributed by mail among first-generation Polish immigrants with the individual as the unit of analysis. A list of Polish sounding-names was selected from the city telephone directory. Even though many Poles do not have what one would consider a typical Polish name, we believed that such a selection process introduced only a slight bias by excluding intermarried immigrants and those who had changed their names, as it can be reasonably assumed that all the other individuals with or without Polish-sounding names would not differ with respect to any of the key characteristics relevant to the study. Furthermore, individuals without telephones as well as those with unlisted telephone numbers were excluded from the sample which would potentially introduce certain bias by omitting the poorest and the most affluent population strata. Subsequently all selected individuals were contacted by telephone to verify their ethnic descent. All potential respondents with disconnected telephone numbers as well as those who claimed not to be Polish immigrants were removed from the sample. As a result of this process, a list of five hundred suitable individuals was created. Despite its possible bias towards less assimilated respondents, such a selection procedure had to be adopted because all other available lists of Polish immigrants had been compiled by various Polish ethnic organizations and businesses and thus were believed to be even more biased toward "ethnically enclosed" individuals.

The 500 anonymous questionnaires were mailed out in late November of 1996. As a result of the first mail-out, 213 questionnaires were returned, including 179 properly completed questionnaires. In January of 1997 three hundred reminder notices along with another copy of the questionnaire were mailed to individuals randomly selected from the original list. The second mail-out yielded 105 properly completed questionnaires. We had to exclude twenty responses since they had been obtained from individuals who settled in Canada prior to 1979. Thus our effective sample size was further reduced to 264 responses from individuals who immigrated to Canada in 1979 or later and thus could be

classified as belonging to the most recent Solidarity wave. The sample consisted of 168 males (63.6%) and 96 females (36.4%). Their ages ranged from 24 to 70, with a mean of 43. All respondents had settled in Canada between 1979 and 1996, the average length of residence being around nine years.

The questionnaire was initially written in English and subsequently translated into Polish by the author. The accuracy of the translation was independently verified by four individuals fluent both in Polish and in English. The questionnaire consisted of forty-seven questions concerning, among other issues, language preference and proficiency, diet choices, leisure participation, leisure constraints and motivations, attitudes towards and participation in Polish ethnic organizations, attitudes towards ethnic holidays and customs, and questions regarding socio-economic characteristics. A distinct section was devoted to issues of discrimination. In particular, information about the types of discriminatory acts, locations where such acts occurred, and personal characteristics of perpetrators was solicited. With several exceptions (i.e. age and length of stay in Canada), all the questions were of a close-ended nature. Scale questions were used whenever there was a need to measure level of agreement, frequency or relative importance.

The choice and format of questions reflected the need to accommodate three important factors. Firstly, the questionnaire had to capture the information necessary to verify relevant theoretical concepts (e.g., Gordon's theory of assimilation). Secondly, questions needed to be formulated in a way that some meaningful comparison with the findings of existing research could be attempted. Finally, the questionnaire had to be designed so that specific characteristics of the population under study could be detected.

Themes from the in-depth interviews helped us to design certain questions in which a list of items was presented. Besides commonly used items we were able to include ones particularly important for this immigrant population. Also, more appropriate scales for some questions had to be devised. Some questions, such as the ones concerning the types of discrimination, as well as all the questions containing statements about leisure behavior, were based entirely on the information obtained from the interviews.

Our use of the quantitative data for the purpose of discussing types and location of discrimination in this article is purely descriptive, in the form of frequency distributions

and mean scores, where appropriate.

## 4.4 Findings

In this section we shall address the major themes derived from the interview stage of the project. These themes were concerned with the settings where such acts were likely to occur as well as with the nature and consequences of discriminatory acts. The qualitative findings will be discussed and supported by interview quotations whenever appropriate. Analysis of the data obtained from the questionnaire survey will be used to support some of the conclusions derived from the interview material.

### *4.4.1 How Do Polish Immigrants to Canada Experience Discrimination?*

The most apparent characteristic of perceived discrimination that was commonly reported throughout the interviews was its non-violent nature. None of the interviewees indicated having experienced a physical attack, vandalism, or any other extreme type of discrimination. The most commonly mentioned discriminatory behavior was not being taken seriously or being patronized by members of the mainstream. Many interviewees attributed this behavior to the allegedly common prejudice as to the intellectual inferiority of immigrants. As humorously expressed by a female caretaker with a graduate degree from a Polish university:

> Some people tend to hold negative opinions about immigrants, they think immigrants are illiterate dummies that don't know a thing. We came from next to nowhere, crawled from under a stone, and they [Canadians] have to keep us alive with their taxes. We are unfit to do anything that requires any responsibility.(...) Sometimes one would explain obvious things to you because as an immigrant you can't possibly know them. It doesn't really matter what you really know and who you really are. They will keep telling you how to use a phone or something similar. In their view you are inferior and they often assume that you are uneducated.

Another form of behavior on the part of the mainstream population that was perceived as discriminatory by many interviewees had to do with the "Where are you from?" types of questions. Although usually this sort of question does not carry any other meaning than that of simple curiosity, sometimes it can have a hostile overtone,

particularly if asked in an impolite manner. Many immigrants encounter this sort of behavior in their work on an everyday basis. Similar incidences were most often reported by interviewees who worked in blue collar or service positions. Regardless of the intent on the part of a person asking such questions, many immigrants find them quite frustrating, particularly in the case of individuals who are well established in the host country and are no longer very loyal to their home country. In some instances immigrants may respond in a sarcastic way to such inquiries, which in turn may lead to an outpouring of hostility or to an outright verbal attack. As commented by a male car mechanic:

> I came to Canada just before the martial law, I bought a house, I've been working like a dog for the last fifteen years. Even my own kids are barely able to speak Polish. I have a Canadian passport. I have a Polish passport too but it expired God knows how many years ago. Still I have to put up with this stuff almost every day. Every time I go to a store some fifteen year old would ask me "where are you from?" I don't suppose they take me for a tourist. I usually answer "I am from Edmonton, what about you?" How many more years am I supposed to live here so they stop looking at me as if I were some kind of a space alien. (...) One day I went to a bar with some Polish guys. Obviously we spoke Polish. The waitress comes by and asks us about the language we are speaking. Maybe it was just a simple question but still I said that we were speaking Cantonese. I said to the lady "can't you see we are Chinese?" I don't think she really got the point.

Questions about reasons for immigrating to Canada asked with obvious hostility were yet another commonly encountered form of verbal abuse. A female caretaker described a verbal attack on her by one of the tenants. He complained about the problem in a building, got very upset and finally asked her, "Where the hell did you come from after all?" A taxi driver stated during the interview that he encountered similar verbal confrontations almost on an everyday basis.

Discrimination through language ridicule was also quite frequently reported in the interviews. Some interviewees complained about their co-workers and supervisors making fun of their English pronunciation or awkward use of some words. For some language ridicule was only a minor distraction. As stated by a former store clerk:

> As far as I am concerned I encountered it several times at work in really silly situations. It had nothing to do with the quality of my work or with my relations with customers. Still the manager made unpleasant comments about my English. It didn't really matter very much since I continued to have good relations with her and we even went to a Christmas party

together.

Other interviewees found language ridicule unbearable. A female day care worker recalled:

> The girls kept making fun of me. Everything that I said was enough reason for a joke or some kind of a comment. If I pronounced something incorrectly they would always make fun of it, if I pronounced it correctly they would twist it and still make jokes. Several times they managed to make me cry. I simply couldn't stand it anymore. One day I joked that if they continued, I would file a complaint with the human rights commission. It was a joke but they must have taken it seriously because all of the sudden the jokes stopped.

Some interviewees indicated that there exists a certain degree of discrimination against immigrants at the workplace, both in the hiring process and in the assignment of work responsibilities. Interviewees complained that immigrants are sometimes denied employment solely because of their accent. As stated by a male student:

> Poles are being discriminated in the matter of employment. It is quite understandable, if one speaks with an accent they probably suspect that he also thinks with an accent. On the other hand it is hard to blame them. It is easier for them to hire a person who is more like themselves, who can speak their language well.

The conclusions derived from the qualitative interviews appear to find support in the quantitative data. Results of the questionnaire survey suggest that only "soft" forms of discrimination are encountered by Polish immigrants relatively frequently. Whereas more than half of the respondents reported not being taken seriously or having obvious things explained, less than 10% admitted to being a victim of any severe form of discrimination such as physical assault or vandalism (Table 4.1).

On the other hand, some inconsistencies exist between the results obtained in the questionnaires and the opinions expressed during the interviews. Types of discrimination such as being spoken to in a patronizing manner or being asked the "Where are you from?" question in a hostile way surfaced in almost every interview. In the survey, however, only about one third of the respondents admitted to having experienced this type of behavior at least once, and less than 5% indicated that they were subjected to such discrimination on a regular basis. Interestingly, even though being exposed to anti-ethnic jokes and being openly insulted or ridiculed were mentioned quite rarely during

the interviews, around a quarter of the survey respondents claimed to having been subjected to such treatment. Similarly denial of employment appears to be reported as more frequent than one would expect on a basis of the qualitative data. Even though the absolute frequencies seem not to be particularly high, given that in normal circumstances individuals do not change their jobs very often, the problem with this discriminatory practice appears to be quite significant. Almost a quarter of the sample claimed to have been denied employment solely on the basis of their ethnic origin or immigrant status at least once, whereas more than 17% stated that they experienced such problem at least on an occasional basis. Although respondents might be biased towards over-reporting this type of discrimination as self assessment of professional skills may be difficult and in reality they might have not been hired for entirely different reasons, given the magnitude of the frequencies reported it is very likely that the problem does exist.

### *4.4.2 Places Where Discrimination is Most Likely to Occur: Leisure Versus Non-Leisure Settings*

As previously noted, existing research in leisure studies that has dealt with discrimination against racial minorities has generally confirmed the presence of discrimination in various leisure settings (Blahna & Black, 1992; Chavez, 1991, 1993; West, 1989). However, in apparent contradiction to this conclusion, some studies outside the field of leisure sciences appear to indicate that, in the case of white ethnic minorities, discrimination tends to be markedly less pronounced in leisure than in other settings (Driedger & Mezoff, 1981). Our findings are more consistent with this latter observation than they are with the majority of results reported in the leisure studies literature.

One of the most striking findings to emerge from the in-depth interviews was that all the interviewees had experienced discrimination in some form, but, when asked about their experiences with ethnic discrimination, all reported that most such incidents had occurred in work or school rather than while participating in leisure activities. This finding could be explained by problems related to the identification of white ethnic minorities: at work, the ethnic background of a person is known to his or her co-workers, but in leisure settings members of these minorities might not be easily distinguishable

from the mainstream. In the words of one of the respondents, "in parks we all look the same." Thus, in order for a discriminatory act to occur, a potential victim has to be positively identified as being "different" (Goffman, 1963), leading to a greater incidence of discrimination against racial minorities in leisure settings because the identification process occurs instantaneously.

Language skills appear to be the main factor by which ethnic (as opposed to racial) minorities are identified. As one of the respondents said, "Poles are not a visible minority, they are just as good as Canadians as long as they refrain from speaking." This finding is supported by the work of several researchers (e.g., Chan, 1987; Floyd & Gramann, 1995), which supports the existence of an association between foreign language use and discrimination against ethnic minorities. Besides the issue of identification, language skills have a direct bearing on one's performance in work and school environments. As confirmed by research outside the field of leisure studies, discrimination against ethnic minorities is most frequently encountered in these two settings (Chan, 1987; Creese, 1987; Driedger & Mezoff, 1981; Li, 1987; Pankiw & Bienvenue, 1990). In the words of one of the interviewees:

> They will always ask you about your communication skills. This is what counts, everybody will judge you on the basis of how you speak.... They would speak to you slowly and distinctly assuming that if you speak with an accent you must have difficulties understanding English.

Unlike at work, the rules governing behavior and personal expression are quite relaxed in leisure settings. People are not required to complete specific tasks, follow guidelines, or compete for promotions. Consequently, in leisure settings good communication skills do not play as important a role as they do at work, if indeed they are important at all. Another factor possibly contributing to the greater incidence of discrimination at work is the fact that at work individuals are restricted in their choice of people with whom to interact. As indicated by a middle-aged car mechanic, "If someone doesn't like me I won't seek contact with such a person, and the other way around. However, in work one doesn't have much choice."

Besides the work and school environment, some interviewees reported incidents of

discrimination in certain public places and institutions. They recalled that they had received an unfriendly reception in various offices and that the office workers had been uncooperative and purposefully unwilling to resolve matters to their satisfaction. As one woman reported, the only serious instance of discrimination that she encountered in Canada occurred in a bank. She described an incident in which she was trying to open a checking account but was not allowed to do so. A bank clerk openly told her that as a recent immigrant she was a risk and that she would probably write lots of bad checks and then flee the country.

Opinions varied substantially as to the reception immigrants receive in various government institutions. Some interviewees claimed that they had been treated with respect in government offices, while others argued that the government offices were the worst offenders. A taxi driver expressed an opinion that people speaking with an accent receive differential treatment in their dealings with various government institutions. A female caretaker disagreed with this opinion and stated that

> I often call various government institutions. I call them about my income tax or other things. They are always extremely nice and if I need to ask about something and I say that I have a problem expressing myself because my English is not good enough they would always respond "no problem", they are always really nice, you know... I think they are like that because they have to but it doesn't really matter. On the other hand people working for the government may simply realize that quite a few Canadians are immigrants and so they need to be polite to them, that this is the way it should be.

Our qualitative findings were substantiated by the results obtained from the quantitative survey. Mean scores and frequency distributions for each of the locations where the discriminatory acts had occurred are shown in Table 4.2. It is evident that all the locations associated with leisure received the lowest scores, ranging from 1.09 for sports to 1.26 for parties, whereas other locations were characterized by higher scores, ranging from 1.28 for small stores to 2.22 for the workplace. The scores range from 1 to 5, where a score of 1 represents never having experienced discrimination and a score of 5 represents being subjected to discrimination very often. Given that the proportion of respondents who claimed to experience discrimination often or very often ranged from 10.3% for the workplace to less than one percent for all listed leisure settings, one may

conclude that, unlike racial minority members, for whom discrimination is often an everyday experience (Feagin, 1991), most Polish immigrants perceive it to take the form of isolated incidents rather than a pattern of constant harassment regardless of location.

Turning to the higher level of detail displayed in the frequency data, discrimination appears to be most frequently experienced in the workplace: almost 40% of the respondents reported that they experienced discrimination at work occasionally, and an additional 10% claimed to be subjected to discrimination often or very often. The workplace was the only location where the majority of respondents claimed to have been subjected to at least one instance of ethnically motivated abuse. Still, when compared with the qualitative findings, where the great majority of interviewees reported discrimination at work, this frequency appears to be rather low.

Besides possible bias that could be introduced in the qualitative stage in the selection process of individuals to be interviewed, one may attribute this discrepancy to two distinct factors. First, the very issue of ethnic discrimination appears to be quite sensitive and somewhat difficult to tackle using survey techniques, because respondents may be reluctant to disclose information that they find embarrassing. Secondly, reasons for the discrepancy may lie in the common understanding of ethnic discrimination. One may draw a parallel to the problem of sexual harassment – it is often difficult for an individual to distinguish between acts that are unwelcome but lie within the bounds of socially acceptable behavior and those that constitute harassment *per se*. A tendency may develop not to report "gray area" incidents in a belief that such incidents are largely insignificant, while reporting them may create an impression of one's being a "whistle blower". Furthermore, mass media that tend to focus on the most violent examples of discrimination, mainly directed against racial minorities, may contribute to perpetuating a belief that the incident must be of an extreme nature in order for it to constitute discrimination. Given that white ethnic minorities such as Poles are mostly subjected to rather moderate forms of hostility, such mild instances of discrimination may often go undetected in questionnaire surveys.

Discrimination in locations associated with a person's public life, such as government offices or banks, was reported by relatively large proportion of respondents (37.5% and

23.5% respectively). Still, despite the fact that these types of institutions are likely to be frequented by most people on a fairly regular basis, the majority claimed not to have experienced any discrimination there. This result appears to be consistent with the findings of the in-depth interviews, where a fair degree of disagreement concerning discrimination in such places was present among participants.

An interesting finding concerning discrimination in the school environment became apparent in the quantitative data. Despite the fact that the majority of the respondents (92%) settled in Canada at the age of 24 or older, and thus had an opportunity to complete their education in Poland, over 20% of surveyed immigrants reported at least one incident of discrimination in a school setting.

In the section of the questionnaire dealing with discrimination in leisure settings we included seven locations: parties; restaurants; hotels/motels; public parks and recreation areas; resorts; private clubs; and general sports participation. With the exception of parties and restaurants, where almost 10% of respondents reported occasional discrimination, discrimination in all other locations was found to be infrequent (Table 4.2). Although parties and restaurants still ranked lower in terms of mean scores than non-leisure locations, their scores appear to be higher than those of the remaining leisure settings. The higher reported incidence of discrimination at parties could be attributed to the very relaxed social norms of behavior associated with this type of leisure, mixed ethnic composition of participants, as well as often limited control over the selection of participants. In particular, one may speculate that younger immigrants who may feel compelled to participate in ethnically mixed parties through peer-pressure, and those whose employment requires participation in such events may be particularly likely to experience discrimination in this setting. Whereas the actual incidence of discrimination at parties may not be markedly higher than it is in other settings where social interaction between ethnic minority members and the "mainstream" takes place, one may suspect that immigrants may perceive to be discriminated simply because they feel alienated and uneasy due to factors such as limited English skills or cultural incompatibility with the group.

The finding of somewhat higher frequency of discriminatory acts in restaurants than

in other leisure settings may be associated with the relatively high degree of personal interaction between clients and employees, in which the verbal component usually allows for the identification of a person's ethnic background. As far as the provision of goods and services and the need for verbal communication are concerned, restaurants appear to be in many ways similar to retail outlets, where discrimination rates were found to be fairly substantial. Still, as became apparent in the qualitative stage, the forms of discrimination that Poles are subjected to in restaurants are of a rather mild nature. Whereas incidents of being patronized by the staff or being asked the "Where are you from?" question surfaced during the interviews, there were no reports of Polish immigrants not being admitted to such establishments on the basis of their ethnic descent, being denied service, or being openly insulted.

Only five percent of respondents reported at least one incident of discrimination in private recreation clubs and associations. This result appears to be somewhat low, considering the nature of many such establishments. Yet, it could be anticipated that participation in such clubs may be lower among immigrants than among the general population due to ethnic enclosure of these groups (see below) and anticipation of being unwelcome in these places. Participation in recreation clubs can be expected to particularly low among the Polish ethnic community given the fact that this group is known to limit its involvement in any "mainstream" clubs and organizations (Matejko and Matejko, 1974). Thus, if we controlled for the actual participation rate, the incidence of discrimination might turn out to be somewhat higher than that reported in Table 4.2.

### *4.4.3 Consequences of Discrimination for Leisure Behavior*

Despite the preceding findings, we do not mean to imply that discrimination against ethnic groups does not play a part in their leisure. While discrimination may be far less prevalent during *actual* leisure engagements than at school, work, or in public places and may take less severe forms, *anticipation* of discrimination may substantially influence leisure decisions, including the selection of activities and the choice of where and with whom to participate. Anticipated discrimination in leisure settings can simultaneously inhibit minorities from participating in leisure activities in areas in which they feel

unwelcome, and make them more likely to frequent locations that they perceive as familiar and friendly (Blahna & Black, 1992; West, 1989; Woodard, 1988). However, it appears that discrimination can have much broader implications for minority-group leisure than those of simply a locational nature, i.e., where leisure takes place. In particular, it can affect one's choice of leisure partners, and possibly contribute to a significant ethnic/racial confinement, or "ethnic enclosure," in leisure participation that is often found among minorities (Floyd & Gramann, 1993; Keefe & Padilla, 1987). We do not believe discrimination to be the sole cause behind such leisure preferences, but it is reasonable to expect that large intergroup distance (Floyd & Gramann, 1993) can reinforce such tendencies. Our study lends support to the conclusion that perception of discrimination does influence the ethnic composition of one's leisure partners.

Ethnic enclosure can be attributed to several factors. Limiting social contacts to one's own group may help to avoid being subjected to discrimination (Goffman, 1963). In the case of white ethnic minority members, whose experiences with discrimination are largely limited to non-leisure settings, ethnically confined leisure often serves as a means of distancing themselves from what they believe to be the ethnically-motivated unfair treatment that they are subjected to at work, at school, or in public places. In our study, out of thirteen interviewees, eleven indicated that they preferred to spend their leisure time either with their immediate family or with Polish immigrant friends. Some study participants stated that their feeling uneasy or unwelcome among "mainstream" Canadians in certain circumstances contributed to their preferences to spend their leisure time among other Poles. As described by one of the interviewees:

> I work as a clerk in a second-hand store. Sometimes, when people get disappointed they tend to make unpleasant remarks.... They get angry because they can't get a good bargain, and often they focus their anger on me. They think that it didn't work out for them because they had to deal with an immigrant.... After the whole day of that I don't want to think of myself as an immigrant. I just want to go home and spend time with my wife and kids, or to go play soccer with my friends.

However, some respondents expressed the opinion that ethnic confinement of Polish immigrants in their leisure should not be entirely attributed to discrimination or fear thereof. They explained this preference in terms of cultural, historical, and

background-related similarities. In the words of a Polish taxi-driver: "We share the same culture, language, traditions, customs, common interests.... Somehow we are always able to communicate." When asked about the reason why she preferred to spend her free time with other Poles, a middle-aged day-care worker responded:

> You know ... if I make some remark about our Polish reality they [Canadians] wouldn't understand it. How can you explain to a non-Pole what we came through, how everything looked like back in Poland. For them [Canadians] it is a curiosity, for us [Poles] it was the reality. When I talk to my [Polish] friends I don't have to explain anything. Somehow we always have things to talk about, we can remember how it was back there in Poland, we can relate our lives here to what we had there.... I have some Canadian friends, I met them at work. We talk about the work that we do, about kids and stuff, sometimes they ask me about how it was back in Poland. I would tell them how we used to live, but you know ... in the long run we don't have much to talk about. I guess, you need to have something real in common with your friends.

Limiting social contacts with members of the mainstream society, whether or not to avoid discrimination, can affect the leisure behavior of ethnic minorities in several ways. A clear theme that surfaced in several interviews was that immigrants could not participate in certain leisure activities that they found desirable because their narrow social networks within the general population prevented them from finding suitable leisure partners. As described by a female respondent:

> Back in Poland I used to ride a horse, but here none of my friends does it, so I don't have anybody to ride horses with.... I don't know anybody who would do snowmobiling because very few Poles do this kind of sports. Maybe if I had more contacts with Canadians, I would find somebody to do it with.

These observations are consistent with the findings of Rublee and Shaw (1991), who concluded that immigrant women from Latin America were severely constrained in their leisure choices by a lack of social contacts outside their ethnic community. By confining themselves to their own communities, ethnic minority members (and recent immigrants in particular) limit their leisure opportunities in yet another important way: since people of one ethnic background often share the same leisure preferences and participation patterns, awareness of existing leisure opportunities is often greatly constrained among ethnically confined individuals. Moreover, it is common for such persons not to be able

to start participating in their desired types of leisure activities simply because they lack information as to the availability of facilities or as to their specific requirements.

## 4.5 Discussion

Overall -- and in apparent contradiction to previous work in leisure studies on racial minorities -- it was found that white ethnic groups exemplified by Polish immigrants to Canada, experience markedly less discrimination in leisure settings than they do at work, at school, or in some public places. This phenomenon can be partly attributed to difficulties associated with identifying members of such groups in leisure environments, as well as to other factors, such as the lesser importance of language skills in informal settings. To the extent that leisure-related discrimination exists, it appears to surface mainly in circumstances where there is a substantial need for verbal communication and where individuals have limited control over the ethnic composition of their peer group.

In addition and more importantly, however, the results of our study suggest that two other factors may also help to explain the low incidence of discriminatory acts against white ethnics in recreation and leisure. First, choices about activities, places, social interaction, and partners for leisure made by members of ethnic minorities may be significantly affected by their experiences at work or in school and therefore their fear of encountering and desire to avoid similar discrimination in leisure. Second, members of such groups may make leisure decisions that offer opportunities for recuperation and escape from discrimination experienced at work or school. In turn, as a result of one or both of these reasons, their leisure may become "ethnically enclosed," which serves to attenuate the potential for contact with members of other groups and therefore the occasions in which discrimination might be experienced. In other words, confinement may further reduce the level of discrimination against such groups by restricting interactions between their members and the mainstream. From this perspective, decisions to orient leisure to ethnically enclosed spatial and social settings may be interpreted as strategies to negotiate the constraints of experienced and anticipated discrimination (cf., Jackson, Crawford, & Godbey, 1993).

While in the case of white ethnic minorities ethnic enclosure can serve as a mechanism both for reducing contacts between the group and the mainstream and for lessening the opportunity for recognition, the motivations underlying such behavior can differ among racial minorities. Whereas the contact minimization rationale may still be present, racial minorities are unlikely to be able to avoid group recognition through enclosure. However, as indicated by Chavez (1991), enclosure in general, and specifically leisure participation in large homogeneous groups, can serve as a deterrent for some open acts of hostility.

However, one could predict that a significant feedback effect may be present and that the confinement resulting from the expectation of discrimination may in fact contribute to even greater anti-ethnic hostility in the long run. The mainstream is likely to perceive homogeneous ethnic groups participating in leisure as alien and thus undesirable, or can even believe that their activities are an open manifestation of hostility and contempt for widely accepted social norms. Although behavior characteristic to other cultures may in fact be appreciated in controlled settings, such as heritage festivals or ethnic clubs and organizations, its reception can often be markedly different in everyday situations, particularly if such behavior is perceived to interfere with the way of life of the mainstream population. For instance, many people may appreciate watching ethnic performances during a festival yet dislike such activities if they happen in their neighbor's backyard. Thus, paradoxically, a mechanism that was originally meant to protect one from acts of discrimination may in turn reinforce anti-ethnic feelings.

The findings of this study with respect to the types of discrimination experienced by Polish immigrants appear to be consistent with the conclusions of previous research on discrimination against other ethnic minorities. However, they differ quite profoundly from similar results concerning racial minorities. As found by Feagin (1991) racial minorities such as Blacks quite often experience poor service at establishments such as restaurants, shops, and hotels. Our results do not support this finding in regards to a white ethnic minority such as Poles. Less than 5% of survey respondents indicated that they had experienced this kind of treatment, and none of the interviewed individuals pointed out to the existence of such problem. Moreover, as previously mentioned, other

serious discriminatory actions such as physical attacks and vandalism were very rarely reported in the questionnaire. On the other hand, as found by Feagin (1991) and Driedger and Mezoff (1991), other minorities such as Blacks and Jews tend to encounter it on an almost everyday basis. We can argue that it can be partially attributed to the issue of identification. Blacks can obviously be immediately recognized in majority of settings, while Jews who were found by Driedger and Mezoff to be discriminated were studied in a school environment where the ethnic origin of a person is usually commonly known.

Polish immigrants, being an example of a white ethnic minority group, share some characteristics with respect to the types of discrimination that they experience with members of racial minorities. Most minorities, irrespective of their racial characteristics, appear to be subjected to a spectrum of less severe and less violent discriminatory practices. As suggested by the results of both qualitative interviews and quantitative survey, similarly to other minorities, Poles encounter various types of verbal abuse and harassment. Such a hypothesis finds confirmation in a study on discrimination of white ethnic minorities conducted by Driedger and Mezoff (1991). Among eight ethnic groups under study Poles were classified in the second position in terms of perceived discrimination. Only Jews tended to report more incidents of discrimination that did Poles. Ethnic jokes were the most often reported form of discrimination by Polish respondents, followed by language ridicule and name calling.

Even though it is difficult to compare the actual frequency of experiences with non-violent discrimination across ethnic and racial groups, it appears that racial minorities suffer a greater intensity of such abuse than do white ethnics such as Poles. As found by Blahna and Black (1992) and Feagin (1991), racial minorities often suffer unprovoked verbal abuse in public place such beaches, pools, and streets. On the other hand, Poles appear to be subjected to such abuse mostly during more personal interactions with members of the mainstream and particularly when some degree of conflict or disagreement is present.

It is difficult to speculate as to the reasons for markedly different types of discrimination experienced by racial as opposed to ethnic minorities. The pattern is quite apparent that racial minorities as opposed to white ethnics are often subjected to violent

types of discrimination. In addition they seem to experience a higher incidence of non-violent acts of discrimination than their white counterparts. One may hypothesize that the issue of identification plays an important role in this phenomenon. However, it would not be realistic to assume that identification is the sole causal factor. Other possible contributing factors that immediately come to mind are historical patterns of discrimination that may influence people's attitudes toward some ethnic or racial groups. Moreover, physical appearance may serve as a signal of a degree of being different and thus lead to an illusion that racial minorities as more unlike the mainstream than white ethnic groups. Consequently racial groups may be perceived as less conforming to what is accepted as a social standard which may lead to creating prejudice and possibly discrimination. Other factors are also likely to be responsible for the existing differences in discrimination patterns so further exploration of the phenomenon is needed.

## 4.6 Conclusions

In this study we have attempted to tackle issues of discrimination as perceived by the members of a relatively small, white ethnic minority. Our analysis has confirmed that the pattern of discrimination experienced by this group is markedly different from that of well-established racial minorities. Our findings and interpretations are important contributions to knowledge about leisure and discrimination because they distinguish between and help to account for differences in leisure-related discrimination between racial and white ethnic minorities. From this perspective, then, our findings do not contradict those previously reported in the field; instead, they complement existing literature by emphasizing differences between these two types of minority groups and thus further stress the need to distinguish between race and ethnicity as concepts and traits when conducting research of this kind.

Looking to the future, it has to be conceded that our examination of incidents and implications of discrimination has been performed at a fairly general level. Thus, in order to gain a deeper understanding of this phenomenon, one needs to focus on its more specific characteristics, such as the nature of discriminatory acts, the circumstances in which they occur, and the types of individuals who are likely to engage in discriminatory

behavior. Research of this kind could continue to be conducted among Polish immigrants to Canada, thus extending the scope of the present study, but would also be usefully extended to other minorities and in other countries, so as to verify the findings and interpretations which we have offered here. Another issue that requires further elaboration is the precise nature of the differences in patterns of discrimination between racial and ethnic minorities whose existence has been suggested by this study, as well as by findings from the broader field of ethnic studies. This could be accomplished by employing a comparative approach that would allow for isolating possible similarities and differences between racial and white ethnic groups.

**Table 4.1**

Frequency of Discrimination by Type

| Type of discrimination | Frequency of discrimination | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Never experienced | Once | Occasionally | Often | Very often | MEAN |
| | | % | % | % | % % | |
| Had things explained that were obvious to everyone | 45.1 | 5.3 | 34.8 | 8.3 | 6.4 | 2.26 |
| Not being taken seriously | 49.2 | 10.6 | 34.1 | 3.8 | 2.3 | 1.99 |
| Being spoken to clearly, slowly and distinctly in a patronizing manner | 57.2 | 4.2 | 33.3 | 3.4 | 1.9 | 1.89 |
| Being asked the question "Where are you from?" or similar in an impolite manne | 68.2 | 6.4 | 19.3 | 4.2 | 1.9 | 1.65 |
| Being exposed to anti-ethnic jokes | 69.3 | 8.7 | 20.5 | 0.8 | 0.8 | 1.55 |
| Being denied employment | 75.3 | 7.2 | 12.5 | 1.5 | 3.4 | 1.51 |
| Being openly insulted or ridiculed | 72.3 | 10.6 | 14.4 | 1.9 | 0.8 | 1.48 |
| Had property vandalized | 92.0 | 4.9 | 1.5 | 1.5 | 0.0 | 1.13 |
| Being physically assaulted | 95.1 | 3.4 | 1.1 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 1.07 |
| Being denied a service | 95.1 | 2.7 | 2.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.07 |
| Being exposed to anti-ethnic literature | 97.0 | 0.0 | 3.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.06 |
| Being denied accommodation or housing | 97.0 | 2.3 | 0.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.04 |

**Table 4.2**
Frequency of Discrimination by Location

| Location | Frequency of discrimination | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Never experienced % | Once % | Occasionally % | Often % | Very often % | Mean |
| At the workplace | 42.2 | 7.6 | 39.9 | 6.1 | 4.2 | 2.22 |
| In a government office | 62.5 | 3.4 | 26.1 | 5.7 | 2.3 | 1.82 |
| In banks | 76.5 | 4.9 | 15.9 | 1.9 | 0.8 | 1.45 |
| In schools or colleges | 79.2 | 4.9 | 13.6 | 1.9 | 0.4 | 1.39 |
| In non-government office | 80.7 | 2.3 | 15.2 | 1.5 | 0.4 | 1.39 |
| On the street or in public transportation | 80.3 | 4.5 | 12.5 | 1.9 | 0.8 | 1.38 |
| In supermarkets or department stores | 82.6 | 1.9 | 14.4 | 1.1 | 0.0 | 1.34 |
| In contact with police | 84.1 | 6.4 | 7.6 | 1.5 | 0.4 | 1.29 |
| In small stores | 85.2 | 2.7 | 11.4 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 1.28 |
| At parties | 85.1 | 4.6 | 9.5 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 1.26 |
| In restaurants | 87.5 | 4.2 | 8.0 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 1.21 |
| In hotels or motels | 92.8 | 1.9 | 4.5 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 1.14 |
| In parks and other publicly+ accessible recreation areas | 93.2 | 1.9 | 4.5 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 1.13 |
| In resorts | 93.9 | 0.8 | 4.9 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 1.12 |
| In privately owned recreation oriented clubs and associations | 95.0 | 0.8 | 3.8 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 1.10 |
| While participating in sports | 94.3 | 2.3 | 3.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.09 |

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# CHAPTER 5

## A Conditioned Attitude Model of Individual Discriminatory Behavior and its Implications for Discrimination in Leisure Settings

# A conditioned attitude model of individual discriminatory behavior and its implications for discrimination in leisure settings

## 5.1 Introduction

It is difficult to deny the potential benefits of combining theories originally developed in distinct fields of social inquiry in order to enhance our understanding of human behavior. Edwards (1954) acknowledged this fact by advocating a more extensive exchange of ideas between the fields of psychology and economics for the purpose of explaining individual decision making process. Following Edwards' suggestion, I intend to exploit the advantages of the interdisciplinary approach by reconciling theoretical contributions from psychological, sociological and economic literature in order to develop a comprehensive analytical model of discriminatory behavior in leisure settings. Perceived discrimination has been traditionally considered one of the major factors responsible for differences in leisure behavior between a mainstream population and ethnic/racial minorities. The effects of realized and anticipated discrimination on the leisure life of minority groups are not limited to the imposition of additional constraints on leisure or a reduction of enjoyment derived from leisure activities: the expectation of discriminatory treatment may induce members of such groups to modify their behavior in order to reduce the opportunity for hostile action or to allow for retaliation in response to overt discrimination. The need to incorporate these factors into one's decisions concerning leisure behavior may not only constitute a mere inconvenience but may also impose an additional economic cost on leisure participation. Given that ethnic/racial minority groups are often economically disadvantaged, this discrimination-induced expense may inhibit or significantly reduce participation in certain types of leisure activities.

Whereas the impact of discrimination on other spheres of life, such as employment and housing, has been the subject of scientific inquiry in sociology and social psychology for more than seven decades, interest in the subject among leisure researchers is quite recent and the resulting work quite limited both in terms of its volume

and its scope. This apparent lack of interest on the part of leisure researchers in the issues of discrimination appears to be quite puzzling. Since negative effects of discrimination in all other areas of life have been extensively documented in numerous sociological and psychological studies, as well as in other fields of social inquiry, we have no reason to believe that the effects of discrimination will be insignificant in leisure related settings and thus would not constitute an important social problem for ethnic and racial minorities. As Floyd (1998) has pointed out, "while discrimination is often cited as a source of racial and ethnic differences in leisure patterns, significant theoretical and empirical work in this area remains underdeveloped" (Floyd, 1998, p.7). In particular, the existing literature on discrimination in leisure provides little insight into why people experience discrimination in recreation settings, which settings or activities are associated with the most frequent discrimination, who are the likely victims of discriminatory attacks, and what can be done to reduce the incidence of discrimination during free time activities. The majority of the empirical studies on the subject have found strong evidence of the presence and the relevance of discrimination in leisure, including particular settings such as parks, beaches, campgrounds, and other recreation areas (Blahna & Black; 1993; Chavez, 1991, 1992; Gobster & Delgado, 1993; McDonald & McAvoy, 1997; West, 1989). Among other findings, it has been suggested that the level of assimilation of minority members could have an effect on their perceived level of discrimination (Floyd & Gramann, 1995; Stodolska, 1998), and that white ethnic groups experience less discrimination in leisure settings than do easily recognizable racial minorities (Stodolska & Jackson, 1998). Moreover, it has been pointed out that actual or anticipated discrimination in leisure settings could induce ethnic enclosure among minorities and thus have a significant indirect effect on their leisure experience (McDonald & McAvoy, 1997; Stodolska & Jackson, 1998).

Besides the somewhat narrow scope and sometimes superficial nature of the existing literature dealing with the subject of ethnic/racial discrimination in leisure, the major disadvantage of this body of research is related to the absence of a sound theoretical foundation. Although one may argue that original theoretical work on discrimination in leisure may be superfluous given the enormous volume of analytical work on the subject available in the sociological and psychological literature, the

adaptability of these theories for the purpose of studying discrimination in leisure science appears to be somewhat limited.

Two factors concerning the analytical literature outside the field of leisure studies are likely to constitute obstacles for its direct adaptation for the purpose of research on discrimination in leisure settings. First, the majority of the existing theories are quite narrow in scope, and thus offer only a limited and one-sided explanation of the complex phenomena related to discriminatory behavior. Whereas each of the theories may have intuitive appeal as well as often significant support from empirical evidence, there have been no serious attempts to build a universal framework that would reconcile these specific mechanisms and their often conflicting recommendations. Second, with a few exceptions, the existing theories of intergroup relations were never applied and empirically tested in situations even remotely related to human leisure behavior and consequently their applicability to studying these issues is largely uncertain. Although it is fair to say that the lack of empirical work on discrimination in leisure may be partially attributed to the tendency to downplay the importance of leisure both by the sociological and the psychological literature, an equally plausible explanation may become apparent if one were to review the information sources that constitute the basis for the bulk of empirical work on discrimination in these two fields. Surveys such as the National Opinion Research Center General Social Survey, the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan surveys, and Gallup Polls data sources focus on issues such as residential segregation, school integration, job treatment, political issues, economic aid, or personal relations but almost entirely leave aside problems related to leisure and recreation (Schuman, Steeh & Bobo, 1985).

In this article I intend to address some of the deficiencies of the existing literature on individual-level discriminatory behavior by reconciling the distinct and apparently mutually exclusive predictions of intergroup conflict theories into a single coherent analytical framework. Based on psychological attitude formation theories combined with economic theory of consumer choice, I develop a conditioned attitude model which conceptualizes discrimination as a sequential process in which both exogenous factors and intrinsic attitudes can affect the outcome. The model specification is sufficiently broad to allow for its successful application to analyze the complex discrimination-related

phenomena that may occur during leisure engagements. The overview of the model is followed by a series of empirically testable propositions which highlight differences in (1) the character of discrimination between leisure and work settings, and (2) possible variations in discrimination patterns conditional on the nature of leisure activities. The final section draws on the model to develop some policymaking recommendations that could be useful in reducing the incidence of discrimination in leisure settings.

## 5.2 Theoretical Background

The majority of the literature concerned with racial/ethnic discrimination has emphasized the connection between realized behavior and the underlying prejudicial feelings. Allport (1954) defined *prejudice* as "antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group" (Allport 1954, p. 9). Whereas prejudice is related to a feeling, an attitude or a belief, *discrimination* refers to "actions or practices carried out by members of dominant groups, or their representatives, which have a differential and negative impact on members of subordinate groups" (Feagin & Feagin, 1978, pp. 20-21). Although it is quite clear that prejudice and discrimination constitute two distinct notions, much of the literature in both sociology and psychology has traditionally implied that the link between the two is so strong that intergroup attitudes and behavior may be regarded as a single phenomenon for the purpose of empirical analysis. Since discrimination has been perceived as a direct manifestation of an individual's prejudicial attitudes, the manner in which these attitudes are acquired appears to be of fundamental importance for one's understanding of the discrimination related phenomena. Consequently, the issue of prejudice acquisition has constituted one of the major areas of psychological and sociological research on intergroup conflict.

Beginning with the influential work of Merton (1970), who recognized that a direct causal relationship between prejudice and discrimination was not necessarily present, a significant volume of research questioning the traditional view of prejudice as the sole cause of discrimination has developed (Feagin & Feagin, 1978). Consistent with Merton's original observation suggesting the existence of four distinct classes of individuals (prejudiced discriminators, prejudiced nondiscriminators, unprejudiced

discriminators, and unprejudiced nondiscriminators), more recent work in the area has emphasized the significance of two alternative mechanisms related to discriminatory behavior. First, people who hold prejudicial attitudes may restrain from overt racist acts due to social pressures exerted by their family members, peers, or the society in general, or due to restrictions imposed by legal institutions (Feagin & Feagin, 1978; Martin & Westie, 1959; Newman, 1973; Wicker, 1969). Second, people who do not harbor prejudicial feelings may engage in discriminatory behavior for personal gain, due to external pressures, or simply to conform to certain social rules. Given that the first mechanism can only explain the absence of discrimination, the latter argument has attracted significantly more attention among social scientists interested in the genesis of discriminatory behavior.

Theoretical attempts to explain intergroup conflict by employing the prejudice-discrimination approach have been a part of psychological and sociological literature for the past six decades. Work in psychology has focused on mechanisms through which intergroup prejudices are developed, maintained, and acted upon on the individual level, while the sociological research has concentrated on aggregate characteristics of groups in conflict as well as on the relations at the group level. The next section will provide a brief overview of the mainstream prejudice-based theories of discrimination, followed by a summary of alternative explanations of this social phenomenon.

### *5.2.1 Prejudice – Discrimination Approach: Psychological Theories*

Psychological theories of prejudice and discrimination can be tentatively classified into two major groups, namely ones that stress the significance of intrapersonal factors and those related to interpersonal interactions. In the *intrapersonal* strand of research, much emphasis has been put on the role of personality processes. It includes symptom theories, which link the acquisition of prejudice to personality conflicts, and the self concept theory, which attributes prejudice acquisition to low levels of self-esteem (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1976). One of the better known symptom theories is the *displacement* or *scapegoat theory*. It proposes that inhibitions and sanctions of group life lead to accumulation of frustration and aggression in individuals. Since those frustrations cannot always be expressed against the actual sources of restraint, frustrated individuals displace

their feelings on to other groups or individuals, such as members of easily distinguishable/visible outgroups that are not in the position to retaliate (LeVine & Campbell, 1972). Another example of a symptom theory is the *authoritarian personality theory* originally developed by Adorno, Frankel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sanford in 1950. Their work showed that prejudice was a form of psychopathology resulting from personality orientations developed in childhood (Quillian, 1995). The need for submission to a powerful authority, belief in severe punishment, cognitive rigidity, belief in oversimplified explanations of events, lack of tolerance toward ambiguity, avoidance of reflection and speculation, being prone to superstition, lack of imaginative fantasy, rigid and highly hierarchical organization of family relations, generalized hostility, and distrust were all pointed out as personality traits integral to authoritarianism (LeVine & Campbell, 1972; Lipset, 1959; Martin & Westie, 1959).

The approach to discrimination based on intrapersonal factors also includes a strand of theories emphasizing the role of cognitive processes in prejudice acquisition. *Categorization* is one of the cognitive processes that is believed to play an important role in the development of prejudicial attitudes. Categorization refers to a process in which an individual is first identified as a member of a particular outgroup and then regarded as if the characteristics of the outgroup applied to him personally. Given the complexities of the reality, comprehension may not be possible without a certain degree of simplification, which can be achieved through assigning objects into categories. A common suggestion has been that in the process of categorization the differences between individuals belonging to different groups tend to be exaggerated, while the differences within groups are usually downplayed (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1976; LeVine & Campbell, 1972, Tajfel, 1969). Categorization is likely to lead to stereotyping behavior, which in turn can be a direct cause of prejudice acquisition. Ascribing minorities with undesirable traits, including laziness, intellectual inferiority, lack of upward mobility, reliance on social assistance, and propensity to criminal behavior has often been linked with discriminatory behavior (Chan, 1987; Farley et al., 1994; Feagin, 1991; Massey & Denton, 1993; Pankiw & Bienvenue; 1990). Another approach to prejudice acquisition on the intrapersonal level is related to *cognitive consistency motivation*. The fundamental assumption behind this strand of psychological literature is that prejudice results from

differences in beliefs and values between groups. In general, individuals tend to negatively evaluate outgroups that are perceived to possess beliefs and values incongruent with those of the ingroup (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1976).

*Interpersonal theories* of prejudice acquisition stress that prejudice cannot be explained solely by basic personality, motivational, and cognitive processes, but that it can be learned though interactions with the social environment. One of the most prominent theories emphasizing interpersonal relations is the *socialization and conformity theory* that attributes prejudice to sociocultural learning. Children and adolescents acquire prejudice along with other norms and values that are normative to their social environment. Through the interaction with their parents, peers, and teachers, as well as from the information obtained from the mass media, children learn to differentiate and evaluate social groups. Emphasis on conformity coupled with the significance of values acquired during early socialization period may foster prejudicial attitudes that persist throughout the lifetime (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1976; Fossett & Kiecolt, 1989; Kinder & Sears, 1981). However, such socialization processes are not limited to childhood but may also occur later in life. Evidence suggests that, as individuals embrace different social roles, they learn appropriate ways of evaluating minorities. Outlook on minority issues may be associated with the ascribed or achieved status groups, as well as with residential groups or attitudinal groups such as political or religious affiliations (Martin & Westie, 1959; Maykovich, 1975).

*Perceived racial threat theory*, also known as *self-interest theory,* is another well known psychological theory of prejudice acquisition focusing on interpersonal factors. It postulates that individuals develop prejudicial attitudes toward people with whom they are in a direct competition or conflict. Members of minority groups are perceived as a direct threat to the economic, political, and social position of the mainstream population. Since this approach is based on the assumption that individuals develop prejudices and engage in discriminatory behavior to pursue their own self-interest, racial threat theory is related to the rational choice perspective (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1976; Quillian, 1995). One of the most widely recognized areas of direct competition between the minorities and the members of the mainstream is the sphere of employment, where minorities may be perceived to take away jobs that "rightfully" belong to the white population. Competition

is believed to be most fierce among blue collar workers who face relatively low job security and a high concentration of minorities in their employment setting (Lichter, 1988; Lipset, 1959; Quillian, 1995). Affirmative action programs aimed at improving the socio-economic position of minorities as well as their competitiveness in the labor market can intensify the perception of this threat (Blauner, 1989; Firebaugh & Davis, 1984). Another arena in which minorities are perceived as a threat is related to the issues of housing, and particularly to residential desegregation in the United States. Mainstream house owners are often opposed to minority families moving into their neighborhood due to concerns about a possible decline in property values (Farley, Steeh, Krysan, Jackson, & Reevs, 1994). Issues related to personal safety, such as fear of "black crime," gang activities, and drug-related violence allegedly associated with racial minorities are often cited as yet another factor causing "white flight" from certain neighborhoods and at the same time as an important reason behind the development of prejudicial attitudes (Farley et al., 1994; Kinder & Sears, 1981).

The theory of *symbolic racism* that has been gaining popularity since the 1970s is often seen as a challenge to the perceived racial threat theory (Kinder & Sears, 1981). Since white people who do not have frequent contacts with minorities and who do not compete with the members of such groups often hold strong anti-minority feelings, it is assumed that their racism is centered not around "real life" problems but rather around highly "symbolic" issues (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1976). Symbolic racism, common among the relatively affluent, "suburban" white population, is perceived to be a new form of attitudes born as a reaction of whites toward the Civil Rights movement (McConahay & Hough, 1976). According to McConahay & Hough (1976):

> attitudinally symbolic racism is a set of abstract moral assertions about blacks' behavior as a group, concerning what blacks deserve, how they ought to act, whether or not they are treated equitably, and so on. Behaviorally it is a set of acts (voting against black candidates, opposing affirmative action programs, opposing desegregation in housing and education) that are justified (or rationalized) on a nonracial basis but that operate to maintain the racial status quo with its attendant discrimination against the welfare, status, and symbolic needs of blacks (McConahay & Hough, 1976, p.24).

While "traditional racism" was largely centered around the characteristics of individual blacks or other minority members and tended to deny them the right to freedom and opportunity, symbolic racism puts more emphasis upon the characteristics of blacks as a

group. In the view of a "symbolic racist", minorities do not meet some abstract standards of white morality and justice. They are "*too* pushy, *too* demanding, *too* angry, things are moving *too* fast, and blacks are getting *more* than they deserve" (McConahay & Hough, 1976). The evidence suggests that while "traditional" racism is on decline in North American society, symbolic racism has become a major source of opposition to racial change (Kinder & Sears, 1981; McKee & McClendon, 1985).

### *5.2.2 Prejudice-Discrimination Approach: Sociological Theories*

Whereas the psychological literature related to prejudice acquisition focuses on individual characteristics of the perpetrators, sociological theories tend to emphasize minority relations on a group level. A popular theory of prejudice acquisition is the *reference group theory,* which postulates that people have a propensity to identify themselves as members of a certain racial group and to develop a sense of ingroup identity as well as a strong feeling of distinctiveness from members of the outgroup. The theory is based on the assumption that there exists a core of shared values within the mainstream community. The feeling of distinctiveness and commonality of values, coupled with a perception of outgroups as "entirely different stock" characterized by incongruent norms and interests, may lead to a development of prejudicial attitudes (Allport, 1954; Blumer, 1958; Chesler, 1976; LeVine & Campbell, 1972). Another well-known class of sociological theories known as *contact theories* proposes that racism is a direct result of the lack of equal-status contacts between members of two distinct groups. In many areas of life groups tend to live spatially and psychologically isolated from each other. This isolation fuels development of mutual misconceptions as well as creation of racial stereotypes and mythology that further restrict the opportunity for future contacts between groups (Allport, 1954; Amir, 1976; Chesler, 1976; Kinder & Sears, 1981).

Another school of thought in sociology links prejudice to the value system normative to American society. Some popular theories of racism contend that racist beliefs are an integral part of the American value system, given that the ideas of white supremacy, propriety claim, and racial superiority are still cherished by a significant part of the white population (Barrett, 1984; Blumer, 1958). Chesler (1976) points out that "values individuals hold are seen as more than aspects of individuals; they are basic

properties of social systems, and individuals derive their personal values from these ruling ideologies" (Chesler, 1976, p. 39). For instance, empirical evidence suggests that regional subculture accounts for the markedly higher levels of prejudice against blacks in the South as compared to all other regions of the United States (Giles, 1977, Middleton, 1976; Pettigrew, 1958; Rhyne, 1962). Another theory related to cultural norms and ideologies portrays racism as a serious divergence from the American value system rather than as a social norm. According to Myrdal (1962), racism is an attribute of individuals who are unable to live up to the standards of the American Creed. Although Americans in general may be deeply committed to the principles of the Creed, particularistic interests make some individuals unable to implement them in practice (Chesler, 1976; Myrdal, 1962). An alternative approach to the issue reported in the literature is based on the assumption that the principles of individualism, self reliance, hard work, and discipline that are believed to be embraced by the majority of the white population may be not be prevalent among certain racial and ethnic minorities. According to this view, the absence of economic success characteristic to some groups is directly related to the lack of these virtues, and thus any attempt at redistribution through affirmative action programs is unjustified (Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay & Hough, 1976).

Theories that focus on economic and status self-interest as factors involved in group conflicts constitute another important strand of sociological research. This line of thought attributes group antagonisms to the rational need to protect one's own group's economic position and social status. Some authors emphasize the distinction between individual self-interest and group self-interest. According to Bobo and Kluegel (1993), "category membership and identification with a group and a sense of shared fate lead to group-based assessments of self-interest" (Bobo & Kluegel, 1993, p. 445). Blumer (1958), in his *group threat theory,* proposes that prejudice is a reaction of whites to the threat that minorities pose to the dominant social position of the white majority. Feelings of superiority, distinctiveness, being entitled to exclusive or prior rights in many important areas of life, and fear that the subordinate group will threaten the position of the dominant group constitute feelings essential to race prejudice. According to Blumer, it is important to recognize that the feeling of group position is not a summation of individual positions of its members but refers to the position of a group vis-à-vis another

group. In this sense, a person of low socio-economic status who belongs to the dominant group will have a sense of superiority and will act accordingly in relations with subordinate groups members (Blumer, 1958). Whereas Blumer's group threat theory emphasizes the *perceived* threat, its modification by Bobo (1983), called *realistic conflict theory,* proposes that the subordinate group constitutes a *real* and tangible threat to dominant group's practices and to the resources that it controls (Kinder & Sears, 1981; LeVine & Campbell, 1972; Quillian, 1995). Thus, prejudice originates from direct competition between the dominant and subordinate groups for control over scarce resources and for the right to unconstrained cultural expression. The theory provides a plausible explanation for white workers' resentment of minorities that is often suggested by empirical work. Given that competition with minorities may undermine the white working class's position in the labor market and possibly take away their jobs, drive down the wages rates, or lessen their bargaining power in collective agreements, such a resentment may be grounded in rational reasoning (Bonacich, 1972; Cummings, 1980; Quillian, 1995).

### *5.2.3 Discrimination Without Prejudice*

Besides the traditional view of prejudice as the main cause underlying discriminatory behavior, there exists an extensive volume of research suggesting that alternative motivations for discrimination, such as economic gain, social pressures, or institutional norms, may play an important role in the process. For instance, empirical evidence shows that real estate brokers often discriminate against minority customers for the sole reason of satisfying their white customers' expectations. If they believe that whites prefer to live in predominantly white neighborhoods, they will not market homes and apartments in such areas to racial minority members, both to retain the business of the white majority and to maintain property values (Farley et al., 1994; Pearce, 1979; Yinger, 1986). Similarly, rental agents representing all-white apartment buildings may refuse service to minority applicants, not because of personal prejudices, but in order to avoid the potential exit of white occupants (Yinger, 1986). A concern for the preferences of the white customers can induce restaurant operators to provide substandard service to minority members or, in extreme cases, to deny admittance to such individuals (Feagin, 1991).

Due to similar motivations, some business owners may choose not to employ minorities at positions which require direct contact with customers (Yu, 1987). Furthermore, evidence suggests that certain employers engage in wage discrimination based on race or ethic origin, particularly in the case of migrant workers, individuals living in closed communities such as inner city ghettos or minority enclaves, and recent immigrants who are not yet aware of existing wage standards (Bonacich, 1971; Hirshman & Wong, 1984; Li, 1987; Yu, 1987). Such behavior is usually not motivated by prejudice or by differences in productivity, but rather by an opportunity for exploiting market imperfections to generate excess profits. Besides direct or expected monetary rewards, unprejudiced individuals may choose to discriminate to satisfy expectations on the part of their peers, colleagues, and family members or to conform to standards of behavior established by the society or the state (Feagin & Feagin, 1978; Newman, 1973).

### *5.2.4 Conclusions*

The major theoretical approaches to discrimination that have been overviewed in the preceding section support the conjecture that three distinct mechanisms may govern the interplay between prejudice and discrimination. First, discriminatory actions may be perpetrated by prejudiced individuals. Second, such individuals may refrain from discrimination if factors such as peer pressure or the fear of social sanction are present. Third, discrimination by unprejudiced persons may be induced by external factors, such as opportunity for material gain or certain institutional arrangements. Each of these scenarios can be reconciled with one or more of the theories reported in the sociological and psychological literature. Furthermore, each of these theoretical approaches has enjoyed significant support in empirical research.

It is difficult to argue, however, that any of these theories *on its own* can account for all, or even the majority, of discriminatory behavior. In fact, it appears likely that a single discriminatory act that is perpetrated by an individual may occur due to a *combination of factors,* such as the authoritarian personality of the actor, the incompatibility of his value system with that of a given minority, the feeling of being threatened, greed, and perhaps a number of institutional reinforcements. These factors may occur in an infinite number of combinations, and any single factor may have

extremely poor predictive power in determining the nature of the resulting behavior. Consequently, in the following section of this paper I shall attempt to develop a framework capable of incorporating major determinants of discrimination in a systematic way that could enable one to analyze the problem in a more holistic manner.

## 5.3 Model Formulation

The purpose of this paper is to develop a rigorous model of discriminatory behavior on the individual level that would be consistent with the predictions of major psychological and sociological theories of discrimination and inter-group conflict. Given that any discriminatory action is the end result of a decision-making process by the perpetrator, mainstream psychological theories of decision-making (Fishbein, 1967; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975) in combination with microeconomic theory of consumer behavior (Edwards, 1954; Mas-Colell, Whinston & Green, 1995; Varian, 1992) will be used in the derivation of the model. While it would be useful to build an aggregate model accounting for discrimination at the group level, in this paper the analysis will be restricted to the micro level to allow for exploring the dynamics of discrimination within a manageable analytical framework. Consistent with the proposition by Merton (1970) and with the mainstream psychological decision-making theories that predict only a weak link between attitude and action, in the *conditioned attitude model of discrimination* (Figure 5.1) the presence of prejudice is neither a sufficient nor a necessary condition for discrimination to occur. Whereas prejudicial feelings toward a particular group are likely to increase both the probability of a discriminatory action and its potential intensity, discrimination can take place without prejudice and prejudice need not lead to discrimination. For simplicity, it is further assumed that discrimination involves a sequential decision making process that occurs in discrete time.

### *5.3.1 Formation of long-term perception*

Let an individual be endowed with some *general information set* (see Figure 5.1) or accumulated lifetime knowledge. It is assumed that this knowledge is not limited to the information obtained through formal education, but also includes all the "informal"

knowledge acquired from other sources, such as interaction with parents and peers during childhood, messages perpetuated by the mass media, direct observation, and inferences derived by the individual himself. Similar to the classification of beliefs used in psychological decision-making theories, we can categorize the elements of the information set into (1) *informational* elements derived from external sources such as education, (2) *descriptive* elements based on personal observation and experience, and (3) *inferential* elements derived from other pieces of information already present in the set (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). Note that, as proposed by socialization and conformity theories, information obtained early in the life of an individual may play a particularly important role in the evaluation of the characteristics of classes of people, including those of ethnic and racial groups (Fossett & Kiecolt, 1989; Ashmore & Del Boca, 1976; Kinder & Sears, 1981). Furthermore, let us assume that there exist a *specific information set* containing the individual's knowledge as to the characteristics of a certain distinguishable minority group and that it is a subset of the *general information set*. The individual forms a *long-term perception* (LTP) of the group based on this specific information and using his general lifetime knowledge (see Figure 5.1). For the purpose of this analysis one can conceptualize *long-term perception* as a set of subjective evaluations of the "key" characteristics of the minority. The notion of *long-term perception* is in many ways similar to the psychological notion of belief (Fishbein & Aizen, 1975; Rokeach, 1968). In fact, it can be interpreted as a set of beliefs about a certain group. The number, composition and relative significance of these characteristics will differ among individuals. For instance, a religious person may perceive the religion of a minority to be of great importance in his/her evaluation of the group while such a characteristic may be quite irrelevant to others. An important characteristic that is likely to be included in the LTP set by most individuals is the perceived threat that the group as a whole or its individual members pose to the particular person and to his own social and/or ethnic group's interests. A number of psychological and sociological theoretical approaches to discrimination, such as self-interest theory (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1976; Bonacich, 1972; Lipset, 1959; Quillian, 1995), group threat theory (Blumer, 1958), and realistic conflict theory (Bobo, 1983), focus on various forms of perceived or real threat as a factor explaining prejudice acquisition and discriminatory behavior. While this model adopts a

somewhat more holistic approach to the issue, it allows for the mechanisms predicted by the threat-related literature to play a significant role in discrimination decisions made by individuals.

Since the individual does not have "perfect information" on the key characteristics of minorities, long-term perception formation will necessarily involve some type of mental estimation or guessing. Consistent with the predictions of contact theory in sociology, which attributes prejudices and myths to the absence of equal status contact between groups, resulting in distorted information (Chesler, 1976; Kinder & Sears, 1981), it follows that the greater the group-specific knowledge, the more confidence one would have in his/her opinions on the minority's characteristics. However, it does not imply that such increased knowledge will necessarily generate a more favorable long term perception of the group (Cook, 1970). More importantly, it can be argued that individuals with greater general knowledge will be able to form a less biased and more efficient opinion on a given characteristic based on a certain specific information set than the ones who have lesser general knowledge. Note that the LTP formation process is individual-specific and thus two different individuals are likely to form two different LTP sets based on identical information sets. By allowing for heterogeneity among individuals we can account for personality traits as one of the determinants of long-term perception. For instance, as proposed by cognitive consistency motivation based theories, individuals have a tendency to evaluate reality from the perspective of their own value system and as a consequence they tend to be somewhat intolerant toward outgroups characterized by incongruent beliefs and values (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1976). However, the degree of intolerance does not solely depend on the magnitude of cultural incompatibility, but also on the personal characteristics of an individual. If a person is characterized by authoritarian personality traits such as the need for submission to authority, cognitive rigidity, or lack of tolerance toward ambiguity, he/she will be likely to form a less favorable LTP of a group that is markedly different from his/her own ingroup than a person who does not possess these traits (LeVine & Campbell, 1972; Lipset, 1959; Martin & Westie, 1959; Yu, 1987). However, regardless of individual specific mental or psychological characteristics, the assumption that general knowledge enhances one's ability to form accurate judgments, thus reducing the

uncertainty and increasing the stability of LTP, is expected to hold for the majority of people. This conjecture is not only consistent with a well established body of evidence reported in the sociological literature (e.g. Lipset, 1959; North, 1926), but in itself appears to be quite intuitive.

On the other hand, it is not immediately evident why education should be associated with lesser bias in judgment. The notion that the well educated individuals are in a better position to divorce themselves from superstitions and dichotomous views characteristic to common culture is one of the major themes in the literature on ethnic/racial discrimination (Jackman & Muha, 1984; Selznick & Steinberg, 1969). Since the popular myths regarding minority groups can be often more appealing and easier to grasp for the uneducated than the complex and uninteresting facts, one may expect the long-term perception estimates formed by less educated individuals would attach unduly high weight to information derived from such informal sources. Given the hostile attitudes toward minorities that are commonly perpetuated by such popular myths, it is likely that the bias in the long-term perception will be negative – long-term perception based on a particular group-specific information set will tend to be more favorable for larger general information sets. Since low educational attainment is often related to low socio-economic status, this result is consistent with the predictions of the strand of sociological theories that tie discriminatory behavior to an individual's social role and status. The major finding of this literature is that individuals who occupy lower social strata tend to be involved in more discriminatory behavior than people whose education has familiarized them universal norms of justice and equality (Jackman, 1987; Jackman & Muha, 1984).

### *5.3.2 Formation of short-term attitude*

Thus far the discussion has focused on how individuals form their long-term perceptions of minority groups. It has been assumed that the process of long-term perception formation was rational in the broad sense of the term – individuals use all available information to the best of their abilities to form a subjective opinion about certain "key" characteristics of a given group. The psychological literature suggests that categorization is the initial step in a cognitive process (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1976; Tajfel, 1969).

Individuals need to categorize to be able to effectively deal with the complexities of reality. It is likely that, when a person first comes into contact with a member of an outgroup, he/she might base his/her expectations of this particular minority member on the long-term perception of the group as a whole. However, once information regarding the characteristics of the specific minority member becomes available, it can be expected that it will be used to modify the attitude toward this particular person. This process is equivalent to Bayesian updating where the subjective probability of an event is revised subject to incoming information.

Furthermore, our assumptions regarding long-term perception formation imply that the LTP set will be quite stable over time, particularly for individuals who have extensive knowledge about the group, whereas the actual attitude toward the group members at any given point is likely to exhibit significant variations. Psychological expectancy-value attitude formation theory implies that a person's attitude toward an object at any given moment depends on his salient beliefs about the object and is formed by combining individual beliefs weighted by their relative strength (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). The number of salient beliefs is constrained by human information processing capabilities (Miller, 1956). However, which beliefs are salient at the time depends on the particular circumstances. Furthermore, as previously mentioned, the beliefs themselves may need to be at least temporarily modified to account for the circumstances. Thus, neither the psychological notion of beliefs nor our long-term perception set can on their own effectively predict a person's hostility level, let alone his engagement in discriminatory practices. In order to account for this problem one may employ the notion of *short-term attitude* (see Figure 5.1). Note that our concept of short-term attitude is similar but not equivalent to the psychological notion of attitude. Let us consider an individual who has already formed a long-term perception of a certain group based on a preexisting information set. Now, allow him/her to interact with the environment and receive some information input through direct observation or some alternative mechanism. The information input (Figure 5.1) may be completely irrelevant or redundant, it may contain information directly related to the characteristics of the minority (either reinforcing or contradicting LTP), or it may consist of other potentially useful information or general knowledge. Based on this information input and on the

long-term perception, the individual forms a short-term attitude representing the degree of hostility or favorable feelings toward the group's members.

The process of short-term attitude formation differs from that of the long-term perception in three important ways. First, short-term attitude applies to the individual members of the group or to the particular form of contact with the group rather than to the group itself. Second, individuals are allowed to act on impulse in response to new information input, so the short-term attitude is not necessarily a result of rational reasoning. Third, as already mentioned, short-term attitude is not based on raw information, but rather on the preconceived opinions or the long-term perception of the group. For instance, it is unlikely that an individual who comes into contact with the members of a minority will attempt to analyze the entire wealth of information that he has on this particular group in order to form an attitude toward its individual members. However, he may combine his direct observations with his existing opinion about the characteristics of that group as a whole to form such an attitude. This is how our definition of short-term attitude differs from the psychological notion of attitude. Attitude in psychology is formed solely on the basis of salient beliefs, while our short-term attitude is a function of the full LTP set and the information input. The current information input is not only responsible for assigninig relative weights to the individual elements of LTP, which is largely equivalent to deciding which beliefs become salient, but also it directly affects one's evaluation of the group's members involved in the interaction. Note that the effects of information input on LTP or on the beliefs about the group as a whole may be negligible or non-existent.

Let us consider a scenario where the information input does not contain any information relevant to understanding the nature of the minority. In such a case the short-term attitude (STA) will be based solely on the long-term perception. However, if we allow for the information input to contain information relevant to the understanding of minority characteristics, the short-term attitude is likely to change from its base value. Since the assumption of broad rationality is relaxed in the short run, it is possible that an individual will attach disproportionally large weight to the current information input rather than to the long-term perception of the group based on his/her lifetime knowledge. The relative weights attached to these two factors are likely to depend on an individual's

personality traits and are exogenous to the model, so the mechanisms that generate STA can vary across individuals.

Despite the variations associated with differences in personal characteristics, one can still derive some fundamental properties of the STA formation mechanism. First, a more favorable long-term perception of any of the group's characteristics cannot lead to a less favorable short-term attitude, everything else being equal. This result is equivalent to an assumption that a general perception of a group has an effect on an individual's attitude toward its members at any given time. A similar argument can be made to show that if a person receives an information input that reflects favorably on the group, it is likely to improve his/her attitude toward the group in the short run. Another property of the short-term attitude formation mechanism is related to the perceived reliability of the long-term perception set. It is plausible to assume that the weight that one attaches to current information input will be inversely related to his/her confidence in the preexisting judgments as to the group's characteristics. Given the earlier observation that the reliability of the LTP is likely to increase along with increasing group-specific information set, it follows that the more an individual knows about the group in general the lesser are the effects of information input on his/her short-term attitude.

Although the model makes a distinction between short-term and long-term effects, thus far the discussion has focused on phenomena occurring within a single time-period. In order to explicitly incorporate dynamic effects into the model, we need to introduce an information feedback effect. Feedback effect occurs because the information input affects not only the short-term attitude STA in the current period, but also it enters the information set in the following period, thus affecting future long-term perception as well as future short-term attitudes toward the group members. It is assumed that any information input in the current period is fully incorporated into the information set in the following period. Whereas in the short run the information input is relevant to the attitude formation process only if it contains data specific to the group in question, in the long run any non-redundant information input can affect short-term attitude formation since it augments the general information set, thus decreasing the bias and improving the efficiency of the long-term perception formation process.

### *5.3.3 Utility maximization and conditioning factors*

The preceding discussion has focused on the mechanisms behind the formation of people's attitudes toward minority groups. It has been shown that the attitude that one holds toward a particular minority results from his/her long-term perception of the group's "key" characteristics, combined with direct information input regarding the group. A hostile attitude may be a result of prejudicial feelings, provided that the person is not able to effectively distinguish between reliable information sources and common myths, and thus uses such myths to form a long-term perception of a minority group. However, even a person who holds a favorable long-term perception of a group may develop a hostile attitude toward its members in the short run if he/she receives unfavorable information regarding the group. Although such attitude may not be strictly rational, it is difficult to consider it to be prejudicial. Furthermore, short-term attitude is not limited to various degrees of hostility, since an individual may have a positive attitude toward any group. Thus, the concept of short-term attitude is not equivalent to the notion of prejudice or lack thereof, although a relationship between prejudicial feelings and hostile attitude may be present.

Since individuals with a hostile short-term attitude toward a certain group are likely to derive pleasure or utility from discriminating against its members, hostile short-term attitude makes them more likely to engage in discrimination. One has to keep in mind, however, that discrimination is not the only form of behavior from which individuals derive utility. Moreover, there might be certain consequences or costs associated with perpetrating discriminatory acts. Thus, the decision whether to discriminate involves not only one's propensity to do so, but also the expected consequences of the action. Psychological decision-making theories tend to downplay the importance of external factors in their attempts to explain the link between attitude and behavior (Wicker, 1969). While the role of "other variables" as factors intervening between attitude and behavior has been acknowledged by some psychologists (e.g. Ehrlich, 1969; Green, 1972; Warner & DeFleur, 1969), the existing psychological theories do not offer any systematic explanation for the actual mechanisms responsible for these effects. Thus, it appears beneficial at this point to turn to microeconomic theory for the answers. Given that the decision involves a trade-off between discrimination

generated utility and utility derived from other sources, the scenario is largely parallel to the standard utility maximization problem from the microeconomic theory of consumer behavior (Mas-Colell, Whinston & Green, 1995; Varian, 1992). While the economic consumer theory is based on the notion of monetary prices and incomes, these concepts cannot be directly applied to the decision making process involved in discrimination. In these paper we shall refer to any external factors that affect the utility derived from discrimination as *conditioning factors*.

It has to be noted that the *external conditioning* factors that intervene in the relationship between attitude and discriminatory behavior may take a form of either *constraints* or *reinforcements*. Constraints can constitute a sufficient deterrent to make a person with a hostile attitude toward minorities either entirely abandon discriminatory practices or substitute a more serious expression of hostility with a subtle form of discriminatory behavior. On the other hand, if reinforcements are present, an individual with a favorable attitude toward minorities may be forced to discriminate, even though he/she finds such behavior undesirable (Feagin & Feagin, 1978; Newman, 1973; Schuman et al., 1985). Thus, a hostile attitude is not a prerequisite for discrimination, and similarly a discriminatory action may take place in the absence of any hostile feelings.

One may adopt the classification of constraints to leisure by Crawford and Godbey (1987) to identify *intrapersonal, interpersonal*, and *structural* factors conditioning discriminatory action. It is also useful to identify a distinct category of conditioning factors imposed by certain institutions of the society or the state, which we shall refer to as *institutional* conditioning factors. By *intrapersonal* conditioning factors we shall understand all the psychological characteristics of an individual, such as moral standards or propensity for violence, that are related to his/her perception of and response to conflict situations. Intrapersonal conditioning factors are relevant in any conflict situation and their role is not limited to situations involving discrimination. For instance, the mental cost of inflicting physical harm to another human being may be sufficiently high for some individuals to deter them from violence, even if they approve of violent acts performed by a third person. Thus, intrapersonal conditioning factors may affect the decision on whether to engage in discriminatory behavior, as well as the type and the extent of the action that one undertakes (Schuman, Steeh, & Bobo, 1985).

*Interpersonal* factors are related to an individual's interactions with other people. Thus, we shall consider fear of retaliation or peer group pressure to be such factors (Buchignani, 1983; Feagin & Feagin, 1978; Martin & Westie, 1959; Newman, 1973; Wicker, 1969). The significance of this set of constraints and reinforcements is emphasized by reference group theory. An individual is predisposed to act according to the norms and values of the group within which he/she operates, even though such behavior may not be consistent with his/her own beliefs. The reference group can exercise a significant degree of control on the actions of its members through the imposition of formal or informal sanctions on dissenters and through rewarding conformist behavior (Newman, 1973). Thus, a person who feels a need for discriminating against minority groups may be prevented from doing so by the fear of social sanction. On the other hand, an individual who holds no personal hostility toward such groups may choose to discriminate if the social sanction is directed against non-discriminators or if discriminatory behavior is somehow rewarded by his/her reference group. Economic incentives and disincentives to discrimination can often be of an interpersonal nature. For instance, when an owner of an establishment faces the possibility of being boycotted by his/her mainstream customers if he chooses to provide services to minorities, the implicit cost of non-discriminating in the form of forgone profits can be thought of as an interpersonal reinforcement.

*Structural* constraints and reinforcements on discrimination are respectively the costs and benefits, either financial or in some other form, directly associated with the discriminatory act. For instance, the opportunity to discriminate or lack thereof can be viewed as a structural factor. Individuals who have infrequent everyday contacts with minority members but who feel a need to discriminate may have to actively seek an opportunity to engage in discriminatory behavior. Such a search for victims is likely to involve certain costs, either in financial form or in the form of time and effort, and thus it constitutes a structural constraint. On the other hand, discrimination may generate direct benefits to the perpetrators. A simple example of such a benefit would be the property stolen from a victim during an assault or the gain from defrauding an immigrant who is not aware of the circumstances in the new country. However, if such benefits do not come directly from individual discriminatory actions but rather are the result of institutional

arrangements or widespread practices, one would consider them to be institutional rather than structural reinforcements of discrimination.

*Institutional* conditioning factors are somewhat related to the ones of an interpersonal nature. However, in the case of institutional constraints and reinforcements, not the reference group but rather the established state, social, and religious institutions define and enforce the norms of individual behavior. One may perceive institutions to be major factors that prevent individuals who are extremely hostile toward minority groups from acting out their attitudes. For instance, the provisions for equality and human rights protection expressed in constitutions, and laws directed against hate crimes or violence in general contained in criminal law or in church doctrine can act as strong deterrents. On the other hand, it can be argued that certain institutional arrangements may in fact promote discrimination by individuals, even if they are intended to promote equality. A police department enforcing strict height or weight criteria for job applicants may appear to be promoting equality by adopting clear and universal standards and yet exclude most applicants belonging to certain racial minorities from being considered for employment. Thus, such a regulation makes the person responsible for hiring decisions engage in a discriminatory practice, perhaps against his/her will (Feagin & Eckberg, 1980). Another example of an institutional factor that imposes a sanction on otherwise non-prejudiced individuals is the widely documented tacit arrangements in certain real estate agencies in North America that effectively prohibit agents from showing houses located in predominantly white neighborhoods to racial minority members (Feagin & Feagin, 1978). It can also be argued that wage discrimination directed against minorities can have its roots in institutional reinforcements. If the labor market operates in such a way as to allow for gains to be realized by using race as a basis for wage determination, it creates an incentive for firm managers to discriminate. Furthermore, the historical evidence of even more serious forms of institutional reinforcements on discrimination is difficult to overlook. It appears plausible that at least a part of Nazi Germany's population did not hold hostile attitudes toward Jews and yet was forced to be involved in at least "passive" discrimination against this ethnic group in order to avoid grave danger to their personal safety. Examples of state institutions forcing discrimination onto the population can be

found not only in totalitarian systems but also in the recent history of nations that label themselves as democratic.

The conditioning factors described above, along with the short-term attitude toward a certain minority that an individual holds at any given moment, jointly determine whether and in what form discriminatory acts are perpetrated. Note that behavior is a direct result of a utility maximization process involving short-term attitude and conditioning factors. Thus, the concept of an intention as a precursor to action used in psychological literature (e.g. Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975) does not have any direct relevance to this framework. The notion of constraints and reinforcements presented in this paper along with their dynamic interactions within the model shares some characteristic with the framework first developed by Crawford and Godbey (1987) and subsequently extended by Jackson (1990), Crawford, Jackson and Godbey (1991), and by Henderson and Bialeschki (1993). Preference for participation in leisure activities can be paralleled with the short-term attitude that serves as the principal causal factor behind discrimination in the conditioned attitude model of discriminatory behavior. However, intrapersonal or antecedent constraints that are believed to affect preferences (Crawford & Godbey, 1987; Crawford et al., 1993; Jackson, 1990) and that are related to "kin and non-kin reference group attitudes, and prior socialization into specific leisure attitudes" (Crawford & Godbey, 1987, p. 122) play a somewhat different role in the model of discrimination than they do in the traditional leisure constraints framework. In particular, intrapersonal conditioning factors have an effect on the resulting discriminatory behavior through two distinct mechanisms. Socialization and reference group attitudes enter into the information set and thus are responsible for the development of the long-term perception of minority groups. On the other hand, personal characteristics such as an individual's propensity for violence that are related to the perception of and the response to conflict situations are likely to intervene between the short-term attitude (or preference for discrimination) and the actual discriminatory behavior. In line with the propositions by Crawford and Godbey (1987), Jackson (1990), and Crawford et al. (1991), interpersonal and structural (intervening), as well as institutional constraints are expected to condition the relationship between preferences (short term attitude) and realized "participation" in discrimination.

The notion of a conditioning factor is directly related to what can be referred to as the *net cost of discrimination*. Let us assume that the intensity of a discriminatory action can be measured by some imaginary unit and that each unit of discrimination is associated with a certain cost. The net cost of discrimination is derived by obtaining the combined effect of all types of constraints and reinforcements on discrimination. It is plausible that the net cost can in fact be negative if the effect of reinforcements outweighs that of constraints. As previously mentioned, short-term attitude can be either hostile or favorable. The utility or pleasure that one derives from discrimination is related to his/her short-term attitude toward the minority and to the intensity of the discriminatory action. Let us further assume that when an individual holds a hostile attitude toward the group, his/her utility derived from discrimination will increase in proportion to the intensity of the discriminatory act. On the other hand, if one holds a favorable attitude, any discrimination will be a displeasure for him/her and the disutility will grow along with the severity of discrimination. Furthermore, the more negative one's attitude, the greater the utility derived from a discriminatory action of certain severity, and the more positive the attitude, the greater the corresponding disutility. Let us also assume that the individual maximizes his utility and has well behaved preferences (Varian, 1992).

Based on consumer choice theory and the above set of assumptions regarding an individual's preference structure, one can isolate four alternative scenarios, namely *non-hostile constrained non-discriminator*, *hostile reinforced discriminator*, *hostile constrained discriminator*, and *non-hostile reinforced discriminator*. In the scenario of *non-hostile constrained non-discriminator* an individual holds a favorable attitude and is faced by positive costs of discrimination. Since discrimination in itself is a displeasure for such person and given that there is no other gain in discriminatory action, the model predicts that the individual will not discriminate at all. Similarly, if a person, referred to as a *hostile reinforced discriminator,* has a hostile attitude toward some minority and at the same time can expect a reward or a negative cost associated with discriminatory acts, it is likely that he or she would engage in an extremely severe form of such behavior. Given that the intrapersonal costs of violence can be very high for most individuals, this scenario is likely to occur only when the costs of non-discrimination are extremely high.

For instance, one would expect this scenario to be common in totalitarian systems that target certain minorities as an object of persecution or during military ethnic conflicts.

The remaining two scenarios are non-trivial given that they involve a tradeoff between discrimination and other utility-generating activities. In a *hostile constrained discriminator* scenario an individual has a hostile attitude toward a minority and thus derives positive utility from a discriminatory action in proportion to the severity of the act. However, the net cost of discrimination for such a person is positive, so for each unit of pleasure coming from discrimination he/she has to forgo a certain amount of pleasure coming from other sources. As we noted earlier, the cost of discrimination is not necessarily imposed by external factors but may be of intrapersonal nature. In other words, a person may like seeing others being hurt and yet find it unpleasant to be personally involved in such actions. If we now recall the assumption of decreasing marginal utility or of convexity of the indifference curves, it becomes clear that the optimal course of action for the individual is to be involved in discrimination of positive, but finite intensity. Under a standard assumption concerning preference structure, no hostile individual will give up all the other pleasures of life in order to discriminate, but every such individual will give up something to engage in some sort of discriminatory action. A person will discriminate up to the point where the marginal utility that he derives from discrimination is exactly equivalent to the marginal utility derived from the alternative forms of "consumption". Thus, if the net cost of discrimination were to increase, the person would likely substitute away from discrimination and reduce its intensity given that the utility from other sources that has to be forgone is now larger than the utility derived from the last "unit" of discrimination. Similarly, if the attitude toward the group were to become less hostile, thus changing the preference structure, the person would be required to decrease the severity of his/her discriminatory behavior in order for the optimization condition to hold. A hostile constrained discriminator may face constraints in the form of possible rejection by the peer group, administrative sanctions, or perhaps the very amount of time that he/she has to devote to discrimination. However, he/she also derives some pleasure from such behavior and thus needs to establish a balance between the "desired" level of discrimination and costs in terms of other pleasures that he/she has to forego. The severity of discriminatory behavior will then

depend on the preference structure of the individual, combined with the net cost associated with the discriminatory action. For some people the possibility of mild administrative sanctions will constitute a sufficient deterrent to refrain from overt discriminatory behavior. Others will risk imprisonment, family life, or their jobs and will be willing to travel hundreds of miles to be able to participate in hate crimes against their desired target group.

The final scenario, referred to as *non-hostile reinforced discriminator,* yields results in many ways similar to the ones described above. Let the individual have a positive attitude toward a certain minority but face a negative net cost of discrimination. The person has intrinsic disincentive to discriminate given that such acts bring him/her displeasure. At the same time, he/she receives some benefit from every "unit" of discrimination or alternatively has to pay for the privilege of not discriminating at all or not discriminating enough. If we employ the notion of utility being derived from lack of discrimination that has some cost, the problem becomes equivalent to that of hostile constrained discriminator. Again, one can expect an optimum that involves some but not complete "freedom from discrimination." Consequently, an individual who does not hold a hostile attitude but has a net incentive to discriminate is likely to engage in some, perhaps quite mild, form of discriminatory behavior. If the attitude were to improve even more, the individual would likely further reduce the intensity of his/her discriminatory actions. This scenario would apply to individuals who do not hold any negative attitudes toward minorities and yet are forced to discriminate by their peer groups, employers, or even by a possibility of a financial gain. The severity of their discriminatory behavior will largely depend on their preference structure and the expected magnitude of reward. Some people will risk rejection of their peer group, job loss, or even imprisonment in order to avoid taking part in discrimination. Others will choose to act against their conscience for a small financial reward.

The preceding analysis was based on the premise that intensity of discrimination can be measured on a continuous scale and that the cost or benefit associated with each "unit" of discrimination is constant for all forms of discriminatory behavior. Although these assumptions are useful in deriving general patterns that govern discriminatory behavior, it is quite evident that they offer less than perfect representation of reality. In

fact, it is reasonable to argue that for any given individual the actual choice of forms of discrimination may not be well represented by a continuous value but rather by a discrete variable, or perhaps a variable characterized by certain discontinuities. For instance, one may have a fairly precise control over the severity of verbal abuse. On the other hand, the decision whether or not to fire a minority member involves an obvious discontinuity. Furthermore, any change from the "customary" discrimination level may in itself involve certain costs. In a sense, individuals may need to negotiate their constraints/reinforcements on discriminatory behavior (Jackson, Crawford, & Godbey, 1993; Scott, 1991). If the previously optimal type of discrimination cannot be continued due to an imposition of additional cost, the individual would have to devise a new, perhaps less severe, form of discrimination that would be associated with a lesser external cost or a lesser probability of being detected. For instance, if a manager is no longer able to openly reject job applicants based on their race, he may be inclined to try to find some "objective" reasons that would justify minority members not being hired.

The notion of constraints negotiation may also be reconciled with the existence of symbolic racism. Symbolic racism is believed to be most common among the relatively affluent and well educated "suburban" white population. One may hypothesize that interpersonal and intrapersonal costs associated with overt discrimination are likely to be very high for this segment of population. Social pressure directed against racism in such communities, combined with the lack of propensity for violence among its members, can reduce overt forms of discriminatory behavior to undetectable levels. However, some individuals may still hold moderately hostile attitudes toward certain minorities. Given that other forms of discrimination are too costly to be taken into consideration, such people may consciously or subconsciously negotiate discrimination and reduce its intensity to the level that does not carry any social sanction. Furthermore, as with symbolic racism, the discriminatory action may not even be branded as such but can be rationalized as behavior intended to promote equity (Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay & Hough, 1976).

Similarly, the net cost/benefit of discrimination may not be constant and may be characterized by discontinuous behavior. Institutional constraints on discrimination may be non-existent up to some point but quite severe once that point has been reached. As an

example of such discontinuity one may use the widely documented discrimination against minorities in certain public recreation areas (Blahna & Black, 1993). Whereas harassment or even physical assault on minority members may be entirely overlooked by the police, it is likely that if homicide were involved, the authorities would be forced to investigate and to prosecute the individuals responsible. A similar argument can be made in the case where discrimination is externally reinforced. An individual living in a totalitarian system that persecutes a certain ethnic minority may be forced to show at least some minimum amount of zeal in discriminating against the minority's members or risk himself become a target of repression.

## 5.4 Discrimination in Leisure and Work

Consistent with the model, the process which determines whether discrimination occurs and what form it takes consists of three stages. First, an individual uses his/her information set to derive a long-term perception of a given group or an evaluation of its characteristics. Then he/she combines this preexisting long-term perception with any new information input that he/she may receive to form a short-term attitude which signifies the degree of hostility or a favorable attitude toward the group members at any particular point in time. Finally, he/she weighs the utility of discrimination against external costs or benefits of such an action and chooses the optimal form of behavior. Using this simple decision making framework one can show how discrimination may differ in work- versus leisure-related settings, both in terms of its severity and in terms of the motivations that stand behind it.

Since the long-term perception of a given group is based on a person's accumulated lifetime knowledge, it is likely to be quite stable for any given individual. Whereas LTP may evolve over time as new information is acquired, it is difficult to argue that it will undergo any significant variations between settings such as work or leisure, even after accounting for its dynamic effects. For instance, if a person has some information regarding a particular minority and has derived some LTP set using this information, it is highly unlikely that the LTP would differ depending on whether such an individual happens to be at work or in a leisure-related setting. Consequently, one cannot

attribute any observed differences in discriminatory behavior against a single minority on individual level that occur between work and leisure settings to issues associated with LTP or with the traditionally defined prejudicial feelings. If in fact a person who is prejudiced exhibits different patterns of behavior in different settings it may suggest that the traditional "prejudice as a sole cause of discrimination" framework is not valid. However, it is possible that certain types of leisure settings and perhaps certain types of workplaces may attract individuals sharing similar prejudices, thus increasing the aggregate incidence of discrimination in such places. Such phenomena are beyond the scope of this model, which deals solely with behavior on an individual level.

Once the LTP has been established it is used jointly with the current information input to produce a short-term attitude. Whereas LTP is likely to be stable, STA can vary significantly depending on the type of information being received, and thus can constitute one of the causes of differences in discriminatory behavior between work and leisure settings. A person may receive an entirely different information input specific to a certain minority at work than while participating in leisure activities. By combining the mechanism of STA formation as specified in the model with some empirical findings as to the nature of leisure behavior of minorities, one can derive a set of propositions regarding likely differences in the discrimination patterns between work and leisure.

### *5.4.1 Proposition 1*

*Proposition 1: For an individual who holds an identical LTP of two distinct ethnic/racial minorities, his/ her STA toward the groups is likely to be similar in the work setting but may be more favorable toward the group characterized by a smaller cultural distance from the mainstream in leisure related settings.*

Variations in the level of cultural expression -- an overt manifestation of one's cultural traits, between the two settings may generate differences in information input for a potential perpetrator that are sufficient to account for significant disparities in short-term attitudes. Cultural conformity is often perceived as an implicit condition for employment (Bissoondath, 1994). Consequently, minority members are unlikely to engage in practices involving cultural expression in work-related settngs. Thus, issues related to cultural expression would not be a common cause of hostility toward minorities at the workplace.

However, since in leisure settings conformity rules are often greatly relaxed, one may expect leisure to be a major vehicle for cultural expression, which can potentially affect STA toward the minority members (Shaull & Gramann, 1998; Shinew, Floyd, McGuire, & Noe, 1995). Cultural expression may be realized through different styles of participation or through a different composition and size of the group in which a person participates in leisure activities (Carr & Williams, 1993; Hutchison, 1987, 1993; Irwin, Gartner, & Phelps, 1990).

Two hypothetical minority groups which are identical in every respect with the exception of cultural traits and which are perceived as identical by a certain member of the majority population may be subject to the same level of hostility at work and yet generate different attitudes in leisure settings. If we imagine a mainstream individual who interacts with members of a certain minority characterized by large cultural distance, it is likely that his attitude toward the group will be less favorable in leisure than in the work related environment. For instance, the individual may observe certain manifestations of the group's culture in the leisure setting that would not be visible in other circumstances. If such manifestations are objectionable according to the norms imposed by his own value system, the resulting attitude toward the group may be less favorable than it would have been in the absence of any relevant information input.

### *5.4.2 Proposition 2*

*Proposition 2: For an individual who holds a certain LTP of an ethnic/racial minority, his/her STA toward the group is likely to be less favorable in a work setting than in a leisure setting provided that the leisure activities in question do not involve elements of cultural expression.*

The workplace can be often associated with competition-related phenomena that are largely absent in leisure settings. Competition for promotions, recognition, and financial rewards may have a significant impact on people's attitudes toward their potential rivals. If the opposing party is a member of a distinguishable minority, the hostility associated with on-the-job rivalry may be translated into an unfavorable short-term attitude toward the group. Even if we assume that these negative attitudes never lead to open discrimination or that such a discriminatory act does not generate a tangible benefit, the

attitudes may still deteriorate in the presence of competition. Workers who observe that minority employees enjoy a relatively greater degree of success than themselves may interpret this situation to be a result of unfair preferential treatment of racial/ethnic groups. This observation is consistent with empirical evidence that shows an association between affirmative action programs and negative evaluation of minority co-workers (Blauner, 1989). On the other hand, most leisure activities are unlikely to involve competition nearly as fierce as that found in the work environment. Moreover, it appears plausible that stressful situations often associated with the workplace may further aggravate people's negative short-term attitudes toward their minority co-workers, thus leading to the development of a more negative STA at work than in leisure settings.

### *5.4.3 Proposition 3*

According to the model, even though a hostile short-term attitude may cause discrimination, it is not immediately clear how severe a discriminatory action would be given a certain negative value of STA. Furthermore, if one believes that the severity of a discriminatory action is a discontinuous variable and thus some kind of negotiation takes place, it is plausible that a person with a hostile attitude toward some group will not discriminate at all. Similarly, if a person has no hostile feelings against some minority, he/she may still be involved in discrimination if external incentives are sufficient. Thus, we can assume that the constraints and reinforcements on discrimination play as important a role in the process as does the short-term attitude. According to the classification employed in the model description, the conditioning factors can be divided into intrapersonal, interpersonal, structural, and institutional. Since intrapersonal factors are related to one's personality, it is unlikely that they would vary depending on location. Consequently, it is difficult to argue that this type of conditioning factor could be responsible for variations in the incidence of discrimination between work and leisure settings.

Interpersonal conditioning factors are related to the relationships between an individual and the group with which he/she interacts. More specifically, they include the rewards and the sanctions that a peer group or other informal social network can impose on an individual depending on his/her degree of conformity to some abstract set of rules.

Since the nature of such relationships as well as the range of sanctions available are likely to differ between the workplace and leisure related settings, it is likely that the significance of the resulting conditioning factors will vary as well. This observation is formalized in the following proposition.

*Proposition 3: Interpersonal conditioning factors on discrimination are likely to play a greater role the work environment than in leisure settings.*

In work situations individuals of different backgrounds are "thrown together" and usually do not have much choice over with whom to interact. On the other hand, in leisure activities people usually have greater control over the social composition of their peer group. Consequently they can choose to spend time with individuals who have more compatible outlooks on life, including views regarding certain minority groups. Furthermore, the peer group in the workplace has a significantly wider spectrum of sanctions available than would be possible in leisure settings. Whereas both in leisure and at work a dissenter may be excluded from the group, such an action in the workplace can endanger one's livelihood and so it can carry much greater weight. Thus, in many cases it is more costly for a person to behave inconsistently with the norms imposed by the reference group in work-related circumstances than while engaging in leisure activities.

### *5.4.4 Proposition 4*

Another class of conditioning factors is related to the direct costs and benefits, pecuniary or otherwise, associated with a certain discriminatory action. Structural factors may play a particularly significant role in the workplace, where the opportunity for a tangible gain is the greatest.

*Proposition 4: Structural reinforcements on discrimination are likely to play a more important role in the workplace than in leisure settings.*

Besides discrimination in the form of "traditional" criminal behavior such as theft, most other forms of racial/ethnic hostility are associated with markedly different opportunities for tangible gain in the workplace than in leisure related settings. Whereas in leisure such gains are usually of minor importance and may amount to obtaining a better camping site

or getting a better seat at the game, potential benefits on the job may be quite substantial. Mainstream workers can shift their workloads onto minority employees, and they can induce them to work the least convenient shifts or to perform the most undesirable tasks. Similarly, mainstream employees may engage in discriminatory behavior in order to obtain promotions or other benefits in form of a direct monetary gain. Furthermore, employers may attempt to take advantage of a minority employee's lack of information or language difficulties to induce him to accept wages below the going rate, to deny him vacation pay and other benefits, or to work in unsafe conditions. Whereas the opportunity for such behavior on the part of employers may constitute an institutional reinforcement if it is a widespread practice, isolated cases of such discrimination are likely to be caused by structural factors.

### *5.4.5 Proposition 5*

Structural conditioning factors are not limited to benefits and costs in tangible form. The time that has to be expended to make a discriminatory action possible can also be considered to be a structural constraint on discrimination.

*Proposition 5: Structural constraints on discrimination decrease with the increasing frequency of contacts with potential victims of discriminatory behavior.*

The frequency of contacts may not only vary across settings but also may be a subject to different degrees of control, thus possibly affecting discrimination patterns between leisure and work environments. If an individual has everyday contacts with minority members toward whom he holds a negative attitude, discrimination may involve very low structural cost in terms of the time and effort required to search for a victim. Note that it is not the composition of the group in itself that matters – it is sufficient for the minority members to constitute a small proportion of the group as long as there is an opportunity for frequent contacts. As far as the realized discrimination is concerned, empirical evidence suggests that the relative size of the minority population tends to be positively associated with the incidence of discriminatory behavior (Fossett & Kiecolt, 1989; Giles, 1977; Quillian, 1995). This finding is consistent with the proposition, given that the relative size will likely increase the frequency of contacts. However, other factors, such

as the increase in interpersonal constraints or deterioration of LTP due to a greater perception of threat, may contribute to the development of such a pattern (Blalock, 1967). In leisure settings as opposed to the workplace, both the potential discriminators and the potential victims can attempt to influence the structural costs of discrimination for their own benefit. It has been documented that minorities sometimes isolate themselves from the mainstream during their leisure time. Although cultural factors may be one of the motivation for such "ethnic enclosure", there exists empirical evidence suggesting that isolation in leisure is a means for avoiding discrimination (Johnson, Bowker, English, & Worthen, 1998; McDonald & McAvoy, 1997; Stodolska & Jackson, 1998). Thus, by increasing the structural costs of discrimination, minority members may attempt to deter hostile individuals from discriminatory behavior. Individuals usually have a much greater control over with whom they spend their free time than with whom they work or deal with in everyday situations. They are thus in a position to choose not to recreate with people whom they find prejudiced and hostile (Blauner, 1989; Stodolska & Jackson, 1998). Minorities may choose to recreate in the company of other ethnic/racial group members in the familiar settings of their homes, clubs or ethnic neighborhoods, they may choose to spend time in locations they know to be frequented by other people of the same ethnic background, such as "Hispanic" picnic sites or "black" parks, or they may select the company of people from other ethnic/racial group or possibly whites who are known to be friendly, sympathetic, and unprejudiced. This choice of company and location serves as a mechanism ensuring minority people the least possible contact with prejudiced individuals (Johnson et al., 1998; McDonald & McAvoy, 1997; Stodolska & Jackson, 1998). Furthermore, by increasing the size of their group in leisure settings, minorities may create yet another structural deterrent on discrimination in the form of a threat of physical retaliation. It has been shown that, while blacks might not be willing to frequent certain recreation related settings in small groups due to their fears of physical attack, larger group size may allow for such leisure participation since the large number of participants may constitute a structural constraint sufficient to prevent discrimination (Blahna & Black, 1993). Mechanisms related to the negotiation of structural constraints on discrimination may be also applicable to mainstream individuals who have extremely hostile attitudes toward certain minorities. Whereas at work such persons must face a

frequency of contacts with minority members that is largely exogenously given, in leisure settings they may modify their participation patterns in order to accommodate their desires for discriminatory behavior.

### *5.4.6 Proposition 6*

Another structural constraint on discrimination is related to the issues of visibility and identification. It is intuitively appealing that, if it is difficult to identify a person as a member of an ethnic/racial minority, he/she is less likely to become a target of discrimination (Goffman, 1963). Based on this premise, one can attempt to explain some of the visibility-related differences in perceived discrimination in the workplace as opposed to leisure settings.

*Proposition 6: Structural constraints on discrimination are likely to be negatively related to the minority's visibility in leisure related settings and invariant on such visibility in work- related environment.*

Difficulties associated with the identification of a potential victim of discrimination may impose a substantial constraint on a perpetrator. In fact, this constraint may in many cases be so powerful that it can constitute an effective barrier to such behavior. Thus, significant differences in the structural cost of discrimination might occur between work and leisure settings. While at work the ethnic background of a person is known to his co-workers, in leisure settings members of non-visible minorities might not be easily distinguishable from the mainstream. This argument does not apply to visible minority members who are as likely to be recognized as such at work as in other places. Consequently, it may lead to a greater incidence of discrimination in leisure settings against visible minorities than against ethnic whites, whose identification might not occur instantaneously (Stodolska & Jackson, 1998). A group of black joggers in the park may constitute a potential target for a racist attack while a couple of Czechs playing chess in the shade of a nearby tree is likely to go unnoticed even to the sharp eye of the most fierce bigot. However, if verbal communication with the mainstream service providers is required, the identification of white ethnic minorities may become easier if they speak

with a noticeable accent and discrimination is more likely to result (Stodolska & Jackson, 1998).

### *5.4.7 Proposition 7*

The imposition of new institutional constraints on racist behavior is largely responsible for the eradication of the most overt forms of discrimination in post WWII North America. However, the significance and the applicability of institutional conditioning factors are likely to vary across various spheres of life. In particular, the roles of such factors appear to be different in leisure as opposed to work related settings.

*Proposition 7: Institutional conditioning factors on discrimination are likely to play a lesser role as determinants of discrimination by other users in leisure settings than by co-workers in the workplace.*

The consequences of breaking institutional rules directed against discrimination are usually much greater in the workplace than in leisure settings. Whereas on the job discrimination may lead to administrative sanctions that can endanger the livelihood of the perpetrator, no kind of a sanction is likely to be imposed in leisure setting unless the act is severe enough to prompt a criminal prosecution. Moreover, a potential discriminator is faced with a larger set of rules that are potentially applicable to hate-related activities at work than in any other setting. Whereas outside of one's professional life the main institutional deterrent is the provisions of the criminal code, a number of additional anti-discrimination regulations may be enforced in the workplace. Furthermore, the detectability of many forms of discrimination in leisure is much lower than in the workplace due to the informal nature of leisure activities combined with a certain degree of anonymity of the parties involved. For instance, a rude remark addressed toward a group of black joggers in the park or toward a group of Hispanic teenagers walking on the beach is far less likely to be reported and if so to be prosecuted as a hate crime than if the same remark were directed toward a minority customer of a large corporation or a government institution. If institutional reinforcements on discrimination are present, they are also likely to play a much greater role in one's workplace than in leisure settings. For instance, an unprejudiced restaurant employee has

little choice but to enforce racial segregation regulations imposed by his employers or by the legislature. However, such person has a much lesser disincentive to break segregation rules in his/her leisure life, where the enforcement of such rules is more lax and the potential consequences of noncompliance much less severe.

## 5.5 Discrimination in Leisure Settings

Besides its implications for analyzing differences in discrimination patterns in work and leisure environments, the conditioned attitude model can be successfully applied to study variations in the nature of discrimination in various leisure settings as well as its impact on minorities' leisure behavior. Two major characteristics of leisure behavior among minorities, namely the nature of the contact with the mainstream and the cultural content of activities, can be utilized to explain the type and the incidence of discrimination using this analytical framework. The following section will focus on demonstrating some of the possible mechanisms through which these two characteristics can influence intergroup relations in informal settings.

The leisure life of ethnic/racial minorities is not a phenomenon that occurs in isolation from the mainstream society or from the rest of person's life. Even in the absence of direct personal contacts between group members, the values and the institutions of the white mainstream do affect the leisure behavior of such minority groups. Furthermore, this relationship is unlikely to be unidirectional, as the leisure of minorities may not only influence that of the mainstream but can also enter into other spheres of life of the general population. It appears intuitively appealing that the nature of this intergroup interface can, at least to some degree, influence both the intensity and the type of conflict between the groups, including its realization in the form of discriminatory behavior. Within the framework established in the analytical part of this paper, one can argue that the nature of contact with the mainstream can have an effect in each of the three steps that lead to a discriminatory action. These effects will be presented in a number of propositions.

### *5.5.1 Proposition 8*

*Proposition 8: The incidence of discrimination is likely to decrease along with increasing ethnic/racial homogeneity of the group of participants.*

By participating in leisure activities in their own ethnically/racially homogenous group, minorities may attempt to deter potential discrimination, either consciously or unconsciously, through the imposition of additional constraints on hostile actions. Although such constraints may be interpersonal in nature, particularly if the group is not perfectly homogenous, in a majority of cases structural constraints are likely to be the major factor associated with ethnic/racial enclosure. Enclosure is likely to decrease the frequency of contacts both with the mainstream co-participants and with whites who are not directly involved in the leisure activities. The absence or decreased frequency of such contacts imposes an additional cost on hostile individuals and thus may prevent them from discriminatory behavior. Moreover, provided that the number of participants is large and that the group is ethnically/racially homogenous, the very size of the group may serve as an effective deterrent for some acts of open hostility (Blahna & Black, 1993; Chavez, 1991). The notion that ethnic enclosure may lead to a reduced incidence of discrimination has found support in a number on empirical studies of both ethnic and racial minorities' leisure behavior. McDonald and McAvoy (1997) observed that Native Americans tended to recreate in remote areas in groups consisting of extended family members and of Native American friends in order to avoid discrimination from white Americans. Similar results were obtained by Stodolska and Jackson (1998) with regard to the Polish ethnic minority in Edmonton, Canada. They also found that discrimination was encountered more often by Poles at parties and in clubs where the group was ethnically heterogeneous and where the control over its social composition was limited.

It can be argued that, although leisure participation in homogenous groups may decrease the incidence of discrimination, if such a pattern of behavior is sufficiently common among the members of a certain minority it may possibly lead to a deterioration of attitudes toward the group, particularly in the long run. If a certain group is commonly known to be highly enclosed, the long-term perception of such a group may deteriorate since first-hand information about its characteristics is not widely available to the general

public and since the very fact of being enclosed may create an impression of being hostile toward the values cherished by the mainstream. Furthermore, if a member of the mainstream comes into contact with an ethnically/racially homogenous group involved in leisure activities, his short-term attitude may further deteriorate if he perceives such a group to be unfriendly or perhaps to be a threat to his person.

### *5.5.2 Proposition 9*

One can argue that the character of the location in which leisure activities take place can play a similar role to that of the degree of ethnic/racial homogeneity of participants. Given that the location in itself can affect the constraints on discrimination faced by potential perpetrators, the incidence of discrimination is likely to depend on the location's characteristics.

*Proposition 9: For highly homogeneous groups, the degree of isolation of the location in which leisure activities take place is likely to be negatively related to the incidence of discrimination.*

Whereas the ethnic/racial homogeneity can be related to the frequency of contacts with the mainstream individuals both within and outside the group, as well as with the presence of interpersonal constraints on discrimination faced by the insiders, the potential impact of the location's characteristics is much more limited in scope. Whereas the location does not appear to play an important role in the case of ethnically/racially mixed groups, ethnically enclosed minorities can benefit from isolation since the restricted or inconvenient access to such "protected sites" (Feagin, 1991) can act as an effective structural deterrent for all but the most hostile bigots. The significance of isolation as a means of protection from discrimination has been stressed in a number of empirical studies on discrimination in leisure. Carrington, Chivers, and Williams (1987) found that South Asian girls who spent their free time at home or in ethnic clubs experienced less discrimination than boys, who were free to socialize with outgroup members and to spend time in clubs and other locations frequented by white mainstream youth. McDonald and McAvoy (1997) discovered that Native Americans who experienced discrimination from white Americans in outdoor recreation areas preferred to visit remote lakes, streams, and

other sites known mainly to other members of their group in order to avoid encounters with white recreationists. Similarly, in a study by Blahna and Black (1993), black interviewees indicated that they preferred to spend time in parks and other outdoor recreation areas known to be frequented mostly by African American recreationists because they feared violent forms of discrimination in "white" recreation areas. Interestingly, Johnson et al. (1998) observed that there existed "racially demarcated" areas within Apalachicola National Forrest and that blacks and whites were known to recreate exclusively within the boundaries of their respective area. Black and white residents of nearby communities were aware of "certain tacit rules that make the forest, in effect not 'free' or neutral territory but racially and socially defined places much like churches, social clubs, youth hang outs, and other places in the community"(Johnson, 1998, p. 116).

This argument can be extended to recreation sites that are not physically isolated and not exclusively used by a single racial/ethnic group. In such cases, the degree of ethnic/racial heterogeneity of users appears to be negatively associated with the incidence of discrimination occurring in such locations. If a particular recreation area is used by many racial/ethnic groups, no single group has a "propriety claim" on such setting. Thus, it is likely that minority users will be perceived as a lesser threat to white recreationists simply because the latter could expect such interactions to occur. Given that the presence of minorities will be incorporated into one's information set, it is unlikely that such contacts would lead to a deterioration of short-term attitude based an irrational reaction. In other words, the observations will be consistent with the expectations. On the other hand, if a recreation setting is customarily being used by a homogenous racial/ethnic population, when members of other groups enter such setting they are likely to be perceived to be trespassers who may constitute an immediate threat either to the personal safety of other participants or to the character of the setting. As a result of such a perception of threat that is not necessarily founded in facts, negative short-term attitude may develop, which in turn can lead to discriminatory behavior. Discrimination in often violent forms caused by motivations related to the "protection" of recreational settings from the intrusion of minorities is well documented in empirical work (e.g. Blahna & Black, 1993; Hirsch, 1983).

### *5.5.3 Proposition 10*

Besides the frequency of intergroup contacts and the circumstances in which they occur, the propensity to discriminate is likely to be related to the nature of relations between mainstream individuals and members of ethnic/racial minorities. It has been suggested that frequent but superficial contacts have little or no effect on improving attitudes toward minorities. On the other hand, intimate contacts, particularly those in circumstances involving pleasure and enjoyment, tend to have a positive impact on such attitudes and may reduce one's tendency toward adopting prejudicial views or being involved in discriminatory practices (Amir, 1976). This observation is consistent with the prediction of the model.

*Proposition 10: For any given frequency of contacts between a member of the mainstream population and members of a minority group, the more intimate the contacts the lesser the propensity for discriminatory behavior on the part of the mainstream individual.*

As shown in the analytical part of this article, the accuracy with which the estimated long-term perception set relates to the true but subjective nature of a group's characteristics largely depends on the amount and the reliability of information specific to the group. The smaller the group-specific information set the greater the possibility for an inaccurate evaluation. Furthermore, given the unfavorable nature of the popular myths regarding certain minorities, it is likely that the long-term perception will be negatively biased, particularly among mainstream individuals with limited general knowledge. Such a negative bias of LTP, which bears some resemblance to the traditional notion of prejudice, constitutes a factor that undoubtedly contributes to an increased propensity for discrimination.

Empirical evidence suggests that only certain types of intergroup contacts can lead to a significant accumulation of useful "grass roots" information regarding ethnic/racial minorities. It is believed that contacts on a professional level are either superficial or are limited to a very narrow domain, thus making them of little use as a source of accurate and generalizable information (Amir, 1976). This observation implies

that widely defined leisure activities may play a crucial role in eradicating prejudice and thus reducing the incidence of discrimination. However, not all types of leisure-related intergroup contacts are likely to be equally effective in accomplishing this goal. If the contact is superficial, the information input that it generates may be redundant and thus it may not contribute to enlarging the group-specific information set. On the contrary, it is plausible that an increased frequency of such shallow contacts may appear to give credence to the popular myths that in themselves tend to emphasize superficial external characteristics of minorities, thus widening any LTP bias that may be present. On the other hand, more intimate contacts between a mainstream individual and members of an ethnic/racial minority are likely to be a useful source of information that can possibly allow one to develop an undistorted perception of such a group. In the words of Amir (1976), if such intimate contacts are established and maintained, "the in-group member no longer perceives the member of the outgroup in terms of stereotypes but begins to consider him as an individual and thereby discovers many areas of similarity" (Amir, 1976, p.276). Thus, it appears that, whereas frequent but superficial contacts in leisure (such as frequenting the same recreation area by racially/ethnically mixed users) may reinforce discriminatory behavior both by aggravating existing prejudices and by reducing structural costs of discrimination, more in-depth leisure related contacts including attending clubs where personal, equal status interactions are required or socializing in informal circumstances can constitute an extremely effective vehicle for reducing racial hostility. Besides the mechanisms related to LTP formation, intimacy of contacts may also influence propensity for prejudice by imposing additional interpersonal constraints on such behavior. It is likely that the perceived weight of sanctions imposed on a dissenting member is likely to be positively associated with the closeness of interactions within the group.

### *5.5.4 Proposition 11*

Besides the nature of contact with the mainstream, the other important characteristic of the leisure behavior of minorities that can affect discriminatory behavior toward such groups is the cultural content of their leisure activities. Regardless of the type of contact and the setting where such contact takes place, the type of leisure behavior in which

minority members participate is likely to influence the propensity for discrimination on the part of the mainstream.

*Proposition 11: Provided that the cultural content of a leisure activity diverges from the norms of the mainstream culture, the greater the cultural content of a leisure activity, the greater the propensity to discriminate against its participants.*

Probably the most important mechanism through which alien cultural content of leisure activities may affect discrimination is through its impact on the short-term attitudes of individuals. Whereas members of the mainstream may realize that certain culture-related practices are common among some ethnic/racial minorities and may rationally perceive them to be of minor significance in evaluating the groups' characteristics, they may still react in an emotional manner if directly exposed to such practices while participating in leisure activities. Certain cultural manifestations, such as loud, foreign-language music played in the park, preparation of unusual food, being dressed in ceremonial clothing, or even participation in unusually large extended family groups may lead to the development of a hostile short-term attitude based on an irrational negative evaluation of such alien customs (Bissoondath, 1994). If leisure activities with high cultural content are being observed on a regular basis, it is likely that such observations will lead to a deterioration of long-term perception of the group. As previously noted, casual contacts do not significantly contribute to one's understanding of the meaning and the motivations behind a minority's behavior but may lead to reinforcement of prejudicial feelings toward such a group. Since leisure is often regarded as a major vehicle for cultural expression (Shaull & Gramann, 1998; Shinew et al., 1995) and thus may constitute a significant source of information about a group's cultural characteristics, the role of observed leisure behavior in long-term perception formation may be quite significant. Besides the information content in leisure activities with significant cultural overtones that may affect attitudes toward certain minorities, the nature of some activities may reduce institutional constraints on discrimination. Individuals who are hostile toward certain groups may take advantage of existing regulations to discriminate without fear of institutional sanctions. For instance, a campground employee may not engage in overt discrimination due to his/her fear of administrative sanctions and yet may be excessively zealous in enforcing

some regulations in his dealings with minorities. Certain types of leisure activities, such as camping in very large groups or making bonfires in undesignated places, may give a prejudiced individual an excuse to express his/her true attitudes. Evidence shows that in many instances police and park employees enforce some rules with respect to Hispanic minority members, while at the same time overlooking similar behavior on the part of white recreationists (Gobster & Delgado, 1993).

## 5.6 Policy Implications for Reducing Discrimination in Leisure Settings

Using the framework developed in the analytical part of this paper, one may argue that there exist three broad categories of policy tools useful for reducing discriminatory behavior in leisure settings. In the long run one may attempt to positively influence the long-term perception of minorities among the mainstream population. However, if more immediate results are desired, the reduction of opportunity for conflict situations in leisure settings that could lead to deterioration in short-term attitudes and possible discrimination may prove to be a more effective tool. Furthermore, the imposition of additional constraints on discrimination may constitute the most practical approach, although its usefulness in the long run may be limited, since prejudiced individuals can be expected to successfully negotiate such barriers.

Changing the *negative long-term perception* of minorities is probably the most difficult policy goal although its effects are likely to be sustained and it largely eliminates the need for other policy interventions. Since an improvement of how the mainstream population perceives minority groups would affect all spheres of life, it is fair to say that the responsibility for such an endeavor greatly exceeds what one ought to expect from leisure services providers. However, given the very special role of leisure activities in reducing mutual distrust and in learning about the more human side of ethnic/racial minorities, policy that employs leisure in order to affect the population's view of a certain group may prove to be highly effective.

As proposed by Gobster and Delgado (1993), leisure can serve as a tool for familiarizing members of the mainstream with the real culture and tradition of minorities. Although multicultural festivals are often perceived to be of little use in accomplishing these goals due to their largely superficial nature, one may argue that, if an opportunity

for one-to-one contact between the mainstream and minority members is made possible during such events, they may provide some benefit in reducing the most extreme prejudices. However, a policy that would encourage racially/ethnically mixed participation in clubs and other organizations that require one-to-one intimate relations between its members could prove to be much more effective. Consistent with the predictions of the model, such close contacts on an equal-status basis are likely to be a better source of reliable and diverse information about minority groups and thus can help in eradicating prejudicial opinions perpetuated in common culture. A specific example of policy tools appropriate to achieve this goal could be advertising of mainstream leisure-related clubs and organizations that would specifically target minorities and stress the multicultural and open character of these settings. Empirical evidence suggests that such a policy would be most effective with respect to children and adolescents, who are believed to be most flexible in terms of attitude change (Amir, 1976). Furthermore, given the reported high incidence of discriminatory behavior perpetrated by professional staff and by law enforcement officials in leisure settings, policy intervention directly targeting this area appears to be warranted (Blahna & Black, 1993; Chavez, 1993; Gobster & Delgado, 1993; McDonald & McAvoy, 1997). It may prove difficult to induce this particular group to change their long-term perception of minorities by encouraging contacts with minority recreationists given the inherent unequal status and often superficial nature of such relationships (Amir, 1976). However, if the employment of minorities in such agencies were substantially increased, a gradual improvement in the perception of ethnic/racial minority groups could be expected.

Another area in which policy intervention may lead to a reduction of discriminatory behavior in leisure settings is related to the notion of *short-term attitude*. Even if the long-term perception of a certain group is not very favorable, by eliminating the reasons for direct conflict one can expect to reduce the level of intergroup hostility. Since short-term hostility is often motivated by factors that are not rational in the strict sense, their elimination may be prove to be an elusive task. However, some sources of direct conflict are quite easy to recognize and thus may be dealt with by service providers, often with a minimal outlay of resources. For instance, given the propensity to recreate in large extended family groups typical to certain minorities, camping sites and

day-use areas of sufficient size to allow for multi-party use could prove to be an effective tool that could reduce the conflicts associated with overcrowding and unauthorized use of spaces designed for other purpose by ethnic/racial minorities. Similarly, provision of amenities for children, picnic shelters, and well-maintained sporting facilities designed to accommodate the styles of participation common among minority recreationists would significantly reduce the problems associated with inappropriate use of facilities that often lead to direct conflict with staff members and law enforcement personnel (Baas, Ewert, & Chavez, 1993; Blahna & Black, 1993; Gobster & Delgado, 1993; Irvin et al., 1990). Furthermore, a certain degree of spatial isolation of sites designed for different styles of participation could decrease the opportunity for personal conflict between recreationists characterized by different preferences. Reducing the contact between multi-party, family-oriented recreationists and small, usually two-people, parties of adults looking for peace and privacy could significantly alleviate problems associated with discrimination caused by the development of hostile short-term attitude.

Conflict situations between minority recreationists and service providers in leisure settings are often caused by the depreciative behavior of minorities. Dustin (1990) and Chavez (1992) propose several measures that may reduce depreciative behavior on the part of minority users and in turn can help to avoid conflict situations with the leisure service providers. Dustin (1990) argues that increased visibility of park and recreation personnel, increased numbers of patrols by law enforcement personnel, presence of hosts or volunteers at recreation sites, stricter enforcement of the rules, increased visitor involvement, better communication of reasons behind the rules, on-site education or interpretive programs, and incentives to visitors for proper behavior might help to reduce undesirable behavior on the part of minorities (Dustin, 1990, quoted by Chavez, 1992, p.6). Chavez (1992), on the other hand, proposes that signs should be modified to recognize the cultural diversity of recreationists, trash cans placed in the immediate vicinity of places where people recreate, and visibility of natural resource agency members reduced. However, as has been documented by Carr and Williams (1993), depreciative behavior may often result not from the ill will of minorities but because of their lack of understanding of applicable rules or because of their different land ethic. Their research showed that many Hispanic recreationists were sincerely concerned about

their compliance with the rules governing behavior at camping sites while at the same time engaging in depreciative behavior (cutting trees) that they perceived to be legal. These findings suggest that familiarizing minorities with appropriate rules of behavior and perhaps installing multilanguage signs may reduce the incidence of depreciative behavior on the part of minority recreationists and in turn improve the short- term attitude toward this group of users on the part of leisure service providers.

Even relatively mild problem situations that occur between minority recreationists and leisure service providers can be aggravated by communication problems. Improving means of communication between recreationists and staff members by providing language courses to recreation providers and by hiring a diverse workforce of park employees, security personnel, and managers could also prove to be helpful in reducing the occurrence of conflict situations (Blahna & Black, 1993; Chavez, 1992; Gobster & Delgado, 1993; Shaull & Gramann, 1998). Furthermore, Blahna and Black (1993) suggest that employee education programs emphasizing racial sensitivity issues as well as appropriate training in ethnic and racial relations could prove to be useful in alleviating conflict situations. Government employees need to be made aware of the sensitivity of their actions and they should make sure not to aggravate the situation by their unthoughtful behavior.

Probably the least costly to implement policy tools that target discrimination in leisure setting are related to the introduction of additional constraints on such behavior. Whereas one may argue that the effectiveness of such an approach is likely to decrease as prejudiced individuals adjust their behavior to account for these new barriers, such policies may prove to be effective, at least in the short run. However, it has to be stressed that, by reinforcing the constraints on discrimination, one does not eliminate its underlying causes and consequently discrimination may occur whenever the constraints are absent or insufficient. Among the conditioning factors on discrimination that can be influenced by policy, institutional constraints appear to play a particularly important role. Besides the relative ease of implementation, this group of policy tools may have an immediate effect on the most serious forms of discrimination. This approach to reducing the incidence of discriminatory behavior may be particularly well suited to target prejudiced service providers and law enforcement personnel in leisure settings. As

suggested by Blahna and Black (1993), training programs intended to identify and eradicate racist behavior within such agencies, coupled with anonymous visitor and staff reporting systems that would provide a disincentive for breaking the rules, could prove to be an effective approach to this problem. Furthermore, one may predict that a reduction of racist behavior among the law enforcement community could trickle down to the general population of recreationists given that the complaints regarding racist behavior will likely be treated more seriously if the personnel is educated and unprejudiced. In addition, conscious attempts could be made to increase the detectability and punishment of discriminatory acts perpetrated by other recreationists.

However, strengthening surveillance and more vigilant enforcement of existing laws and regulations may prove to be difficult to implement if the leisure activities involve informal and anonymous contacts. If the policy goals are long-term rather than immediate, an approach that would affect interpersonal constraints on discrimination can be considered. Whereas large-scale efforts to install the perception of discrimination as an undesirable and disreputable behavior in the community at large probably exceeds the role of leisure service providers, efforts on smaller scale meant to discourage such activities in clubs or other organizations through more informal means such as peer pressure or leadership may play an important role in reducing the incidence of ethnic/racial discriminatory behavior.

## 5.7 Discussion/Conclusions

In this paper I have presented a conditioned attitude model of individual level discrimination and developed a number of propositions that allow for the application of this framework for studying discrimination-related phenomena in leisure settings. In particular, a series of propositions regarding the likely differences in discrimination patterns between work and leisure related settings have been formalized. Furthermore, several potentially significant relationships between the nature of leisure engagements and the likelihood of being targeted by racist behavior have been established. Based on the predictions of the model, some more specific policy recommendations for the reduction of discriminatory behavior in leisure settings have been formulated. Besides the

applications that have been presented in this paper, the conditioned attitude framework can be used to explain other problems such as the probability of engaging in discrimination in leisure settings as well as the probability of becoming a victim of racist attacks. Thus, the model can provide a significant contribution to our understanding of the multifaceted phenomena related to discrimination in leisure and perhaps help to fill the void that exists in social science literature with respect to ethnic relations in leisure settings.

The findings and recommendations obtained by employing this framework appear to be of particular interest if one considers the fact that the model itself is able to account for the existence of relationships implied by the majority of mainstream theories of discrimination and that it reconciles these often opposing views to create a fuller and more realistic approach to this complex phenomenon. This task was accomplished by rejecting the conventional assumption of a singular causal factor behind discriminatory behavior and instead employing a more flexible sequential process as the basis for analysis. In particular, it was assumed that a stable long-term perception of a group, combined with the current information input (e.g. direct observation or personal contact), results in the development of a certain attitude toward the group members. However, in contrast to what is implied in traditional prejudice-based theories, a hostile attitude is neither a sufficient nor a necessary condition for a discriminatory act to occur, since it is conditioned by exogenous factors that could either constrain or reinforce one's tendency to be involved in racist activities. Thus, the conditioned attitude model can be considered to be a response to the Merton's (1970) critique, in which he suggested that the direct prejudice-discrimination link is an oversimplification given that both unprejudiced discriminators and prejudiced non-discriminators are likely to exist.

Although one may argue that the assumption of a sequential mental process is in itself too restrictive given that some decisions are likely to occur instantaneously, such an argument appears to be hardly relevant if we consider the implications of relaxing the sequentiality assumption on the results that can be derived from the model. There appears to exist a general consensus as to the fact that people tend to assign others into groups or categories and that they develop and maintain certain opinions pertaining to the characteristics "typical" of such groups (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1976; LeVine &

Campbell, 1972; Tajfel, 1969). Furthermore, there is little doubt that such opinions can affect one's interactions with an outgroup members. A question remains, however, how these existing opinions or preconceptions are combined with the information being directly received and how they are conditioned by certain external factors while an individual makes a decision on whether or not to discriminate. The conditioned attitude model separates this process into two distinct parts – an attitude is derived first and then the "optimal" level of discrimination is determined by a tradeoff between the benefits and the costs of racist behavior. Even though a convincing argument in support of this sequential mechanism could be constructed, an alternative mechanism in which all the relevant factors are incorporated into a single mental process is also quite appealing. However, by abandoning the two step approach one would not only enormously complicate the analysis but also would have to forgo the empirically useful concepts of the short-term attitude and the conditioning factor, while realizing a very modest gain in terms of the model's generality. For instance, according to the alternative specification, if one's attitude could be at all defined, it would depend on the combined attitudes of his reference group. Within the sequential model, the equivalent effect can be captured by employing the notion of interpersonal conditioning factors. Given that such an argument can be extended to other factors, other results are likely to be invariant on the model specification.

Potentially significant problems may arise when one attempts to apply this micro-level model to analyze group behavior. Whereas some fundamental results can be realistically extended from the individual to the group level, the model as a whole is not designed to capture macro-level phenomena. Thus, there is a need for further work on aggregation of this simple framework to make it a tool better suited for group level analysis. One can expect that endogenizing certain conditioning factors that are considered exogenous in the current form of the model could be a likely additional benefit of aggregation. For instance, interpersonal constraints are being regarded as given whereas they clearly depend on the aggregate attitude of the reference group. A similar argument can be made in the case of institutional constraints that at least partially are a function of past and present aggregate long-term perception of minorities by the population at large.

Besides aggregation issues, there appears to be great potential for exploiting the dynamic nature of the model. Given that a multi-period character and information feedback are integral components of this approach, it would be useful to analyze the changes in the long-term perception that occur over time as a result of knowledge accumulation. The model could provide a framework for studying changes in perception of outgroups dependent on life-cycle related variables and education level and could perhaps be useful in gaining some insight into the evolving patterns of prejudice and discrimination among children and adolescents. Furthermore it appears to be a relatively simple task to extend the approach developed in this paper to other situations involving intergroup conflict and hostility. In particular, equal-status group conflicts in leisure settings that are based on a combination of rational factors and prejudice, such as the ongoing feuds between conservationists and recreationists involved in extractive activities, appear to be well suited candidates for such an exercise.

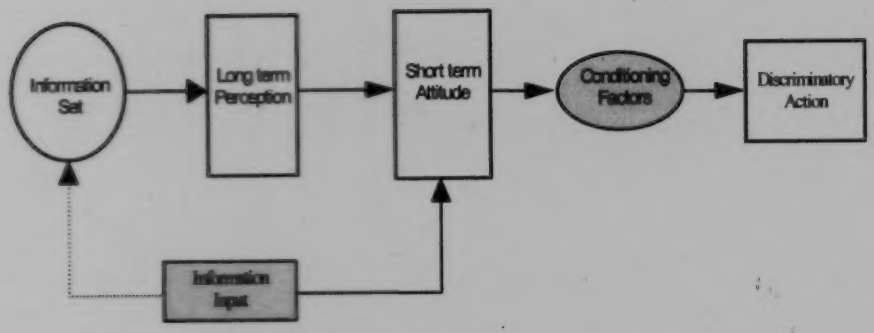


**Figure 5.1** Conditioned attitude model of individual discriminatory behavior

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# CHAPTER 6

# SUMMARY

## Summary

The findings obtained in this research project confirm that the immigration experience and the subsequent adaptation processes play an important role in shaping the leisure experience of recent immigrants. Moreover, leisure plays an important role both in facilitating assimilation into the new society and in allowing immigrants to retain certain desired elements of their traditional culture. The leisure behaviour of newcomers undergoes profound changes following their settlement in the host country, not only due to changes in environmental factors, but also because of the disappearance of established social networks combined with post-arrival psychological problems, often including severe depression and sense of loss. However, the post-arrival transformation of leisure behaviour rarely manifests itself by a prolonged reduction in the scope of leisure participation. Although immediately following the settlement an absolute decrease in participation may occur, eventually many abandoned activities are replaced by new forms of leisure while others are retained, sometimes in a slightly modified form. In particular, it was found (Chapter 2) that the activities that were highly constrained in the old country are frequently started after immigration. This finding suggests the presence of intertemporal effects of constraints on leisure. In other words, constraints experienced in the past may serve as motivations for participation in the future. However, this "forbidden fruit effect" is not the only explanation of the observed increases in participation in activities that were either highly constrained or unpopular in Poland. Many activities are started simply because immigrants are exposed to them through their interactions with the mainstream. In fact, participation in "mainstream" leisure is often used as a tool to maintain such interactions or even to facilitate assimilation. While some forms of leisure behaviour may help immigrants establish themselves in the new environment, others are useful in reducing the stress associated with the adaptation process. The findings suggest that immigrants consciously choose to participate in certain traditional activities in order to isolate themselves from the everyday hardships and to establish a connection with what is familiar. Although the escape motivation for leisure participation does not necessarily imply a rejection of certain elements of the new culture, traditional leisure

activities are often used as a mechanism to facilitates the retention of values and customs from the old country.

While the most dramatic changes in leisure behaviour may be observed immediately following immigration, this does not imply that the leisure life of immigrants remains unchanged in the years to come. In fact, many factors including the psychological disposition, the awareness of certain leisure activities, and the motivations for and constraints on leisure are likely to evolve as immigrants establish themselves in the new environment. Given the severity of post-arrival adversities encountered by many recent immigrants, it is likely that constraints may play a particularly important role in shaping their leisure experience. Furthermore, one may expect that the patterns of constraints on leisure they experience will be significantly different from those found among the general population. Findings of this research (Chapter 3) tend to support the above hypotheses. Immigrants are found to experience certain types of constraints that are quite uncommon among the mainstream, including language difficulties, lack of awareness of the environment or underdeveloped social networks. Furthermore, many common constraints such as lack of time or lack of money may have a greater perceived importance for immigrants than they do for the population at large. More importantly, however, the patterns of constraints experienced by immigrants exhibit unique dynamic behaviour that may be partially responsible for the suggested changes in leisure experience following immigration. In particular, this research indicates that the perceived importance of all dimensions of constraints, with the exception to those related to personal characteristics of an individual, tends to diminish along with increasing assimilation levels. Interestingly, the behavioural-receptional dimension of assimilation which captures perceived discrimination has been found to have a significant effect on most types of constraint on leisure. In fact, the effects of perceived discrimination were perhaps stronger than those of acculturation. This finding suggests that discrimination may play a particularly important role in shaping the leisure experience of ethnic and racial minorities.

A closer investigation of the problem of perceived discrimination as a factor affecting the leisure experience of Polish immigrants (Chapter 4) reveals that white ethnic minorities tend to encounter less frequent discrimination in leisure settings compared to

many visible minorities. This finding can be explained by the difficulties with identifying ethnic whites during indirect contacts in leisure settings combined with the generally less competitive nature of leisure interactions in comparison to that in other spheres of life. Furthermore, white ethnic minorities have been found to be subjected to different forms of discriminatory treatment than their racial counterparts. While discrimination experienced by racial minorities can often be quite extreme, ethnic whites tend to encounter non-violent acts of hostility such as language ridicule or not being taken seriously. However, the relatively mild nature of discriminatory practices directed against white ethnic minorities does not imply that discrimination is insignificant in shaping their leisure experience. In fact, evidence suggests that the very expectation of discrimination may induce immigrants to engage in avoidance practices that in turn can adversely affect their leisure enjoyment and limit their choice of leisure activities. A common strategy that immigrants use to insulate themselves from possible hostile behaviour is leisure participation in ethnically homogenous groups. While ethnic enclosure may be able to reduce the likelihood of encounters with bigots, it also limits the participants' choice of partners and possibly lessens their awareness of existing leisure opportunities.

One may be tempted to attribute the observed differences in the nature of discriminatory practices directed against racial minorities as opposed to ethnic whites to differences in prejudice levels towards these two groups. Similarly, the relatively low incidence of discrimination experienced by ethnic whites in leisure settings can be explained by visibility issues. While these two explanations may be partially accurate, they are too narrow and too situation-specific to be considered satisfactory. This research (Chapter 5) has attempted to offer a more comprehensive picture of discrimination and its role in shaping the leisure experience of ethnic and racial minorities. Based on a decision-making framework adopted from psychology and economics, a model of individual-level discriminatory behaviour is developed. The implications of the model are consistent with the predictions of mainstream psychological and sociological theories of discrimination and inter-group conflict. Individuals are assumed to follow a sequential decision-making process before they engage in discriminatory behaviour. Based on their accumulated lifetime knowledge, they form a relatively stable long-term perception of a particular minority group. Long-term perception is then combined with incoming information input

to produce a short-term attitude or an indicator of the degree of hostility towards the group's members. It is assumed that individuals with hostile short term attitude derive satisfaction from discriminating against their object of hostility. However, engaging in discriminatory behaviour may involve certain social sanctions or other implicit costs. Consequently, the potential perpetrator must take into account not only the satisfaction he expects to derive from taking action, but also the potential consequences of his behaviour. As a result, a given level of hostility may lead to various forms of discriminatory behaviour depending on the conditioning factors that are operational at any given moment. Even though the model describes individual behaviour, it can be effectively employed in order to rationalise the observed patterns of discrimination experienced by ethnic and racial minorities. In particular, the predictions of the model are consistent with the empirical results regarding the variations in discrimination patterns depending on setting, victim's race, nature of contact and cultural content of an activity. Some of these predictions have been formally presented as propositions following the description of the model. The propositions have been used to formulate a number of policy recommendations intended to reduce the detrimental effects of discriminatory practices on leisure experience of minorities.

The research presented in this thesis has contributed to three major areas of leisure studies. First, it has provided new insights into the leisure experience of ethnic and racial minorities. In particular, new evidence for the role of perceived discrimination in shaping the leisure behaviour of minorities has been obtained and the individual effects of ethnicity and race within the context of discrimination have been established. The significance of perceived discrimination has been studied from many perspectives, including an analysis of its impact on constraints on leisure experienced by minority members. Furthermore, a theoretical framework explaining the patterns of discrimination defined over a number of factors has been formulated and its predictions have been reconciled with the empirical findings.

Second, this research has contributed to the understanding of leisure experience in immigrant populations. Post-arrival changes in participation patterns among recent immigrants have been established and analysed. Evidence for the role of leisure behaviour in facilitating assimilation and at the same time in preserving elements of the

old culture has been obtained. Moreover, a classification of constraints suitable for studying immigrant populations has been developed and the significance of assimilation in the evolution of constraints on leisure has been established.

Third, this work has shed some new light on the general nature of constraints on leisure. Specifically, it has been shown that leisure constraints can produce intertemporal effects and that, under certain conditions, constraints experienced in the past may play a role of motivations for future participation. Moreover, evidence has been obtained to indicate that the patterns of constraints may evolve not only with age or life stage, but also as a function of other variables, such as assimilation. While this result may appear to be applicable exclusively to immigrant populations, it suggests that constraints on leisure exhibit certain previously unknown forms of dynamic behaviour.

While the work presented in this thesis has managed to answer a number of important questions both about the problems specific to the leisure behaviour of ethnic and racial minorities and about the human leisure experience in general, it has also identified some potential areas for future research. Even though this research has been successful in providing preliminary evidence suggesting a lesser incidence of discrimination directed against ethnic whites than against visible minorities, literature on the leisure of minority populations could benefit if the role of ethnicity as opposed to race in leisure experience were to be further explored using comparative studies aimed at assessing discriminatory treatment experienced by members of racial minorities and by ethnic whites. A comparative approach could also be used in empirical verification of the propositions derived from the theoretical model of discriminatory behaviour. While the model is capable of explaining certain aspects of aggregate behaviour, it is based on a decision making process by an individual. Consequently, work on formal aggregation of this framework could improve its applicability to discriminatory behaviour at a group level.

Our understanding of the problems associated with constraints on leisure could be significantly enhanced by future studies aimed at exploring the dynamic nature of the phenomenon. Given the somewhat controversial finding that constraints can act as motivations in a multi-period framework, this research creates exciting opportunities for theoretical work related to constraints on leisure. In fact, one can argue that there exists a

potential for consolidating constraints and motivations theory into a single coherent framework. On the empirical front, research on constraints can significantly benefit from the adoption of culture-neutral research tools. Application of such all-purpose constraint classifications would not only allow for conducting more effective comparative studies, but also would facilitate testing the validity of "mainstream" theories of constraints on special populations.

# APPENDIX 1

## Questionnaire - English language version

# MAKING CANADA YOUR NEW HOME

## *A SURVEY OF POLISH IMMIGRANTS IN EDMONTON*

University
of
Alberta

*DEPARTMENT OF EARTH AND ATMOSPHERIC SCIENCES*
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THE FIRST SECTION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE FOCUSES ON YOUR ATTITUDES TOWARDS ISSUES OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

Q-1 I think of myself as ... ? *(Circle one number)*

1 POLISH

2 POLISH CANADIAN

3 CANADIAN OF POLISH DESCENT

4 CANADIAN

Q-2 Which of the following statements best describes your closest friends (excluding family and relatives as well as individuals with whom you maintain only a professional relationship)? *(Circle one number)*

1 PRACTICALLY ALL MY FRIENDS ARE POLISH IMMIGRANTS

2 MOST OF MY FRIENDS ARE POLISH IMMIGRANTS BUT I KNOW SOME CANADIANS OF NON-POLISH DESCENT WITH WHOM I LIKE TO SOCIALIZE

3 APPROXIMATELY THE SAME NUMBER OF MY FRIENDS ARE OF POLISH AND NON-POLISH DESCENT

4 MOST OF MY FRIENDS ARE NON-POLISH CANADIANS BUT I KNOW SOME POLISH IMMIGRANTS WITH WHOM I LIKE TO SOCIALIZE

5 PRACTICALLY ALL MY FRIENDS ARE NON-POLISH CANADIANS

Q-3 Preferences as to the importance of visiting Poland differ widely among Polish immigrants to Canada. Please indicate the statement which best describes your desire to travel to Poland, or lack thereof. This question is NOT concerned with business travel or family emergencies. *(Circle one number)*

1 I DON'T EXPECT TO VISIT POLAND AGAIN

2 I WOULD LIKE TO VISIT POLAND ONCE IN A WHILE, BUT THERE ARE MANY OTHER PLACES I WOULD LIKE TO SEE JUST AS MUCH

3 ALTHOUGH THERE ARE OTHER PLACES I WOULD LIKE TO VISIT, POLAND IS MY FAVOURITE, AND I WANT TO GO THERE AS OFTEN AS I CAN

4 IF I WERE ABLE TO, I WOULD SPEND MOST OF MY TIME IN POLAND, AND WOULD LIVE THERE IF I COULD

Q-4 Please indicate which of the following statements best describes your current contacts with each of the following four groups of people living in Poland. *(Circle one number for each group)*

| | NONE | VERY INFREQUENT (occasional postcard) | MODERATELY FREQUENTLY (several phone-calls or letters a year) | VERY FREQUENT (at least one phone-call or letter a month) | DON'T HAVE ANY IN POLAND |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Immediate family (parents, siblings, spouse, children) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Other relatives | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Closest friends | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Acquaintances | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Q-5 Which of the following statements best describes your attitudes towards current events taking place in Poland? *(Circle one number)*

1 I AM TOTALLY INDIFFERENT TO ANYTHING THAT MIGHT BE GOING ON INPOLAND

2 IF I HAPPEN TO HEAR ANY CURRENT NEWS FROM POLAND EITHER FROM FRIENDS OR FROM LOCAL MASS MEDIA I WOULD LISTEN TO IT WITH SOME INTEREST, BUT I WOULD NOT BE SPECIFICALLY LOOKING FOR THIS KIND OF INFORMATION

3 I AM INTERESTED IN ANY INFORMATION THAT IS READILY AVAILABLE AND, OCCASIONALLY, I ACTIVELY LOOK FOR INFORMATION ON SELECTED EVENTS TAKING PLACE IN POLAND

4 I MAKE AN EFFORT TO BE INFORMED ABOUT ALL THE MAJOR POLITICAL AND CULTURAL EVENTS TAKING PLACE IN POLAND

THE NEXT SIX QUESTIONS ARE CONCERNED WITH YOUR PROFICIENCY IN BOTH THE POLISH AND ENGLISH LANGUAGES AND THE EXTENT TO WHICH YOU USE THEM IN VARIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES.

Q-6 How would you characterize your Polish language proficiency? *(Circle one number for each category)*

| | NONE | POOR | FAIR | GOOD | EXCELLENT |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Speak | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Read | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Write | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Understand | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Q-7 How would you characterize your English language proficiency? *(Circle one number for each category)*

| | NONE | POOR | FAIR | GOOD | EXCELLENT |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Speak | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Read | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Write | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Understand | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Q-8 With regard to your command of spoken English, which of the following statements comes closest to describing your ability to communicate in English language? *(Circle one number)*

1 I SPEAK ENGLISH FLUENTLY ON ANY TOPIC AND WITHOUT AN ACCENT

2 I CAN TALK EASILY ABOUT MOST SUBJECTS, BUT I HAVE AN ACCENT, AND I CAN'T ALWAYS FIND THE RIGHT WORDS OR THE PROPER EXPRESSIONS TO USE IN SOME SUBJECTS

3 I SPEAK ENGLISH ONLY WITH DIFFICULTY, ESPECIALLY ABOUT UNFAMILIAR SUBJECTS. HOWEVER, IN THE END I CAN MAKE MYSELF UNDERSTOOD

4 I SPEAK ENGLISH BADLY. SOMETIMES I CANNOT MAKE MYSELF UNDERSTOOD, EVEN WHEN SPEAKING ABOUT EVERYDAY MATTERS

Q-9 If you ever use Polish language in conversations, which of the following statements best describes your spoken Polish?

1 I TRY TO SPEAK POLISH THE WAY I USED TO SPEAK WHEN I LIVED IN POLAND

2 EVEN THOUGH MY SPOKEN POLISH HASN'T CHANGED MUCH SINCE I LEFT POLAND, I OCCASIONALLY USE ENGLISH WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS IN POLISH CONVERSATIONS

3 MY SPOKEN POLISH HAS CHANGED CONSIDERABLY SINCE I LEFT POLAND. IT IS CHARACTERIZED BY FREQUENT USE OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS, AS WELL AS BY MIXING POLISH AND ENGLISH GRAMMAR

4 I DON'T USE POLISH LANGUAGE IN CONVERSATIONS

Q-10 One's choice of language depends not only on language proficiency but also on personal preference. We would like to learn about the choices you make in various informal activities. *(Circle one number for each activity)*

| | POLISH ONLY | MOSTLY POLISH, SOME ENGLISH | POLISH AND ENGLISH, EQUALLY | MOSTLY ENGLISH SOME POLISH | ENGLISH ONLY |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Which language do you usually use in casual conversations at home? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| In which language do you usually read non-professional literature? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| In which language are the newspapers and magazines you usually read written? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| In which language are the radio stations that you usually listen to? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| In which language are movies that you usually rent? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

## THE FOLLOWING SECTION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE CONTAINS QUESTIONS REGARDING POLISH AND CANADIAN HOLIDAYS AND CUSTOMS

Q-11 Some Polish religious and non-religious holidays are celebrated in a different way or on a different day in Canada. Please indicate which of the following comes closest to describing the way you observe the following holidays. *(Circle one number for each holiday)*

| | I celebrate it the way I used to celebrate in Poland | The way in which I celebrate this holiday has been significantly affected by Canadian customs | I stopped celebrating this holiday after coming to Canada | I did not celebrate this holiday in Poland |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Christmas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Easter | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| All Saints Day | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| All Souls Day | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Mother's Day | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Father's Day | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

Q-12 Some holidays that were quite popular in Poland are virtually unknown in Canada. Please indicate which of the following comes closest to describing the way you observe the following holidays. *(Circle one number for each holiday)*

| | I celebrate it the way I used to celebrate in Poland | I still celebrate this holiday, but in a different way than I used to celebrate it in Poland | I stopped celebrating this holiday after coming to Canada | I did not celebrate this holiday in Poland |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Woman's Day | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Children's Day | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Grandmother's Day | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Grandfather's Day | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Name's Day | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Wet Monday | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

Q-13 Some state and/or religious holidays widely observed in Canada are unknown in Poland. Please indicate which of the following best describes your attitude to each of the following Canadian holidays. *(Circle one number for each holiday)*

| | I do not observe this holiday in any way | I celebrate this holiday only if invited by someone else to do so | I celebrate this holiday in some way, however I do not feel strongly attached to the tradition or event behind it | I do celebrate this holiday and I feel strongly attached to it |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Thanksgiving | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Canada Day | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| St. Patrick's Day | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Remembrance Day | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Victoria Day | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

**PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS REGARDING YOUR RECREATION AND LEISURE CHOICES, AND ABOUT YOUR DIET PREFERENCES. YOUR ANSWERS WILL HELP US TO LEARN MORE ABOUT THE EVERYDAY ACTIVITIES OF POLISH CANADIANS**

Q-14 Which of the following statements best describes your current diet?*(Circle one number)*

1 MY DIET DOES NOT DIFFER SUBSTANTIALLY FROM THE ONE I HAD IN POLAND

2 MY DIET CONSISTS MOSTLY OF TRADITIONAL POLISH FOOD; HOWEVER IT HAS SIGNIFICANT CANADIAN INFLUENCES

3 MY USUAL DIET INCLUDES HARDLY ANY TRADITIONAL POLISH FOOD

Q-15 Here are some statements related to the changes that may occur in a person's dietary habits after they settle in a new country. Indicate your level of agreement with the following statements applied to your dietary preferences. *(Circle the number that corresponds most closely to your opinion about each statement)*

| | STRONGLY DISAGREE | DISAGREE | NEUTRAL | AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Since I arrived in Canada I have started to eat more fresh fruits and vegetables | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| My diet has been significantly influenced by a variety of different national foods available in Canada | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| The changes to my lifestyle that I have experienced after coming to Canada make me switch to less time-consuming methods of food preparation | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| I am less likely to eat food prepared using lard | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Q-16 One of the characteristics of Polish diet is drinking tea with meals. What kind of drink do you usually have with major meals? *(Circle one number)*

1 TEA
2 COFFEE
3 OTHER (Please specify)_____

Q-17 How would you describe timing of your meals during typical day? *(Circle one number)*

1 BREAKFAST - DINNER - SUPPER
2 BREAKFAST - LUNCH - DINNER
3 OTHER (Please specify) _____

Q-18 Here are some statements that describe various aspects of people's leisure and recreation. *Based on your knowledge of the Polish ethnic minority in Edmonton,* please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements. *(Circle the number that corresponds most closely to your opinion about each statement)*

| | STRONGLY DISAGREE | DISAGREE | NEUTRAL | AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE | I HAVE NO OPINION |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Polish immigrants spend markedly less time participating in outdoor leisure and recreation activities than native Canadians | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Polish immigrants tend to pay more attention than Canadians to needs of their families than to their personal satisfaction while planning their leisure time | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

| | STRONGLY DISAGREE | DISAGREE | NEUTRAL | AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE | I HAVE NO OPINION |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| All the hardships associated with the immigrant status reduce the amount of leisure time available to Polish immigrants | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Satisfaction that Polish immigrants derive from their leisure is reduced by the fact that they are tired after work | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

Q-19 Based on your personal experience since you settled in Canada, please state your level of agreement with the following statements applied to your *own* leisure experience. *(Circle the number that corresponds most closely to your opinion about each statement)*

| | STRONGLY DISAGREE | DISAGREE | NEUTRAL | AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The quality of recreation oriented facilities in Canada has positively affected my leisure experience | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| I feel more secure in recreational settings in Canada than I used to back in Poland | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| The convenience of transportation in Canada has positively affected my leisure experience | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| I do not participate in leisure activities with mainstream Canadians as much as I would like to | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Q-20 Please identify your three favorite recreational or leisure activities.

1 _____

2 _____

3 _____

Q-21 Please identify your three recreational or leisure activities in which you participate most often.

1 _____

2 _____

3 _____

Q-22 People have many reasons for taking part in recreation. Based on the leisure activities in which you participate frequently, how important is each of the following? *(Circle one number for each reason)*

| | NOT IMPORTANT | SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT | IMPORTANT | VERY IMPORTANT |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| To relax | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| To be in pleasant surroundings | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| To have contact with nature | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| To escape the stress of everyday life | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| To be with my family | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| To maintain Polish traditions | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| To maintain bonds with the Polish community | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| To establish contacts with non-Polish Canadians | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| For prestige | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| To explore the country | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| To learn the English language (by watching TV and/or reading newspapers / books) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| To be able to do what other Canadians do on an equal basis | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| To establish business-related contacts | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| To improve relations with co-workers | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| To feel better about myself by spending time with other Polish immigrants | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| To improve my skills and knowledge | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| For physical health or exercise | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

Q-23 Are there any leisure or recreational activities in which you <u>do not</u> participate now, but you <u>would like</u> to start participating regularly? *(Please circle one number)*

1 NO → Go to Q-25

2 YES

Q-24 Please specify up to three leisure or recreation activities in which you would like to start participating.

ACTIVITIES_____

_____

_____

Q-25 People have many reasons for not participating in leisure or recreational activities. Also, factors that prevent one from taking part in leisure to the extent to which he/she would like to vary among individuals. Thinking about leisure in your life, how important is each of the following problems? *(Circle one number for each reason)*

| | NOT IMPORTANT | SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT | IMPORTANT | VERY IMPORTANT |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lack of money | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Lack of time | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Lack of transportation | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I don't know where I can take part in this type of leisure | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I don't have the skills required to participate in this type of leisure | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| It is difficult to find others with whom to share my leisure | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I am too tired after hard work | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I don't have the physical abilities | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I am not at ease among non-Polish Canadians | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I feel I don't speak English well enough | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Unsuitable living arrangements | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Lack of set work hours | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Inability to take longer time off | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

Q-26 Can you think of any leisure, or recreation-oriented activities in which you took part regularly in Poland but stopped doing so after you came to Canada? List up to three such activities and, if you can, indicate why you stopped taking part in them.

| ACTIVITY | REASONS FOR CEASING PARTICIPATION |
|---|---|
| 1. _____ | → 1. _____ |
| | _____ |
| 2. _____ | → 2. _____ |
| | _____ |
| 3. _____ | → 3. _____ |
| | _____ |

Q-27 Can you think of any leisure or recreation oriented activities in which you did not participate in Poland but started participating after coming to Canada? Please list up to three such activities.

_____

_____

_____

THIS PART OF THE SURVEY CONTAINS QUESTIONS REGARDING YOUR ATTITUDES TOWARDS POLISH ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS AND VARIOUS KINDS OF POLISH-OPERATED BUSINESSES

Q-28 Here are several statements concerning Polish ethnic organizations in Edmonton. Please indicate your level of agreement with these statements. *(Circle one number for each statement)*

| | STRONGLY DISAGREE | DISAGREE | NEUTRAL | AGREE | STRONGLY AGREE | I DO NOT HAVE ENOUGH INFORMATION TO ANSWER |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Polish ethnic organizations in Edmonton well represent the Polish minority in the city | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Polish ethnic organizations offer a wide range of activities and useful services | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Polish ethnic organizations offered significant assistance to recent immigrants from Poland | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Polish organizations in Edmonton make no effort to appeal to young and middle aged, well educated Polish immigrants | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| The leadership of Polish ethnic organizations does not pay attention to the needs and aspirations of recent immigrants from Poland | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Polish ethnic organizations in Edmonton mostly attract individuals who do not feel secure outside Polish community | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

Q-29 How important are the following activities to you, personally. *(Circle one number for each activity)*

| | NOT IMPORTANT | SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT | IMPORTANT | VERY IMPORTANT |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Attending Polish cultural events | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Attending Polish concerts | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Attending Polish night clubs / discos | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Eating-out in Polish restaurants | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Active participation in Polish ethnic/cultural organizations | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Participation in Polish sports or recreation oriented clubs or organizations | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

Q-30 In Edmonton, there exist a number of businesses that employ Polish-speaking individuals. How important to you is the availability of the following services being offered by Polish Canadians? *(Circle one number for each service category)*

| | NOT IMPORTANT | SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT | IMPORTANT | VERY IMPORTANT |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Medical services | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Dental services | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Legal services | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Travel agencies | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Insurance agencies | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Real estate agencies | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

Q-31 In Edmonton, traditional Polish food is available in many Polish-owned grocery stores. Which of the following statements best describes where you usually buy your food? *(Circle one number)*

1 I BUY ALL MY FOOD IN POLISH OWNED GROCERY STORES, UNLESS SOMETHING IS UNAVAILABLE THERE

2 A LARGE PART OF MY GROCERIES COMES FROM POLISH OWNED STORES; HOWEVER, I FREQUENTLY BUY FOOD ELSEWHERE

3 IN POLISH GROCERY STORES I ONLY BUY FOOD THAT I CANNOT FIND ANYWHERE ELSE

4 I NEVER SHOP IN POLISH GROCERY STORES

## THE NEXT SET OF QUESTIONS IS CONCERNED WITH YOUR PERCEPTION OF THE ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE POLISH MINORITY ON THE PART OF THE GENERAL CANADIAN POPULATION

Q-32 Have you ever encountered any of the following manifestations of prejudice and/or discrimination *triggered by your ethnic origin, accent or your immigrant status*? Please indicate how frequently, if ever, you have experienced each of the following. *(Circle one number for each category)*

| | NEVER EXPERIENCED | ONCE | OCCASIONALLY | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Being denied employment | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Being denied accommodation or housing | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Being denied a service | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Being openly insulted or ridiculed | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Not being taken seriously | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Had things explained that were obvious to everyone | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | NEVER EXPERIENCED | ONCE | OCCASIONALLY | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Being asked the question "Where are you from?" or similar in an impolite manner | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Being spoken to clearly, slowly and distinctly in a patronizing manner | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Being exposed to anti-ethnic jokes | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Being exposed to anti-ethnic literature | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Being physically assaulted | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Had property vandalized | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Q-33 Have you ever found yourself in a situation when you felt uneasy or awkward either because of being an immigrant or because of your accent? Please indicate how frequently, if ever, situations like that have occurred to you in each of the following settings? *(Circle one number for each setting)*

| | NEVER EXPERIENCED | ONCE | OCCASIONALLY | OFTEN | VERY OFTEN |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| At your workplace | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| On the street or in public transportation | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| In a government office | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| In a non-government office | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| In a contact with police | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| In supermarkets or department stores | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| In small stores | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| In banks | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| In schools or colleges | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| In hotels or motels | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| In resorts | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| In restaurants | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| In parks and other publicly accessible recreation areas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| In privately owned recreation-oriented clubs and associations | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| At parties | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| While participating in sports | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Q-34 Some people suggest that the likelihood of someone perpetrating acts motivated by ethnic hatred or prejudice depends on their education, age, and/or degree of economic success. From your personal experience individuals who are most likely to be racially prejudicial are: *(Circle one <u>for each section</u>)*

Section A:

1 WEALTHY
2 POOR
3 THEIR INCOME-LEVEL MAKES NO DIFFERENCE
4 I HAVE NO OPINION

Section B:

1 WELL EDUCATED
2 POORLY EDUCATED
3 THEIR LEVEL OF EDUCATION MAKES NO DIFFERENCE
4 I HAVE NO OPINION

Section C:

1 TEENAGE OR YOUNGER
2 YOUNG ADULT
3 MIDDLE AGED
4 OLDER
5 AGE DOESN'T MATTER
6 I HAVE NO OPINION

**FINALLY, WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW A FEW FACTS ABOUT YOURSELF. THESE QUESTIONS WILL BE USED FOR CLASSIFICATION PURPOSES ONLY. LIKE THE REST OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE, YOUR ANSWERS WILL BE KEPT COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL**

Q-35 Are you male or female? *(Circle one number)*

1 MALE
2 FEMALE

Q-36 In what year were you born?

19_____

Q-37 What is your marital status? *(Circle one number)*

1 SINGLE → Go to Q-39
2 MARRIED ( OR COMMON-LAW )

Q-38 What is the descent of your spouse? *(Circle one number)*

1 BORN IN POLAND
2 BORN IN CANADA BUT OF POLISH DESCENT
3 NON-POLISH DESCENT

Q-39 How long have you been in Canada? *(Indicate number of years)*

_____

Q-40 Are you currently employed or have you been employed in the last six months? *(Circle one number)*

1 NO → Go to Q-42

2 YES

Q-41 What is/was the minimum level of education necessary to be employed at your position and to successfully perform your professional duties (if you are/were self-employed please indicate the level of education you feel is/was necessary to run your business)? *(Circle one number)*

1 ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
2 JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL
3 SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL
4 TECHNICAL OR VOCATIONAL PROGRAM
5 UNIVERSITY UNDERGRADUATE PROGRAM
6 UNIVERSITY GRADUATE PROGRAM

Q-42 In which of the following categories your annual personal income before taxes fall? *(Circle one number)*

1 LESS THAN $ 10,000
2 $10,001 TO $20,000
3 $20,001 TO $40,000
4 $40,001 TO $ 60,000
5 $60,000 OR MORE

Q-43 What is the highest education that you <u>obtained in Poland</u>? *(Circle one number)*

1 COMPLETED ELEMENTARY SCHOOL OR LESS
2 COMPLETED VOCATIONAL SCHOOL
3 SOME HIGH-SCHOOL OR SOME VOCATIONAL HIGH-SCHOOL
4 COMPLETED HIGH-SCHOOL OR VOCATIONAL HIGH-SCHOOL (WITH DIPLOMA)
5 COMPLETED COLLEGE
6 SOME UNIVERSITY
7 COMPLETED UNIVERSITY (WITH DEGREE)
8 Ph.D. DEGREE OR HIGHER

Q-44 How would you describe your religious affiliation in Poland? *(Circle one number)*

1 ROMAN - CATHOLIC
2 GREEK - ORTHODOX
3 PROTESTANT
4 NON-DENOMINATIONAL CHRISTIAN
5 JEWISH
6 MUSLIM
7 OTHER
8 I WAS NOT AFFILIATED WITH ANY CHURCH

Q-45 Which of the following labels best describes the church you are currently affiliated with? *(Circle one number)*

1 ROMAN - CATHOLIC
2 GREEK - ORTHODOX
3 PROTESTANT
4 NON-DENOMINATIONAL CHRISTIAN
5 JEWISH
6 MUSLIM
7 OTHER
8 I AM NOT AFFILIATED WITH ANY CHURCH

Q-46 Do you attend any of the Polish Roman-Catholic churches in Edmonton on a regular basis? *(Circle one number)*

1 YES
2 NO

Q-47 Can you think of any formal or informal groups or organizations to which you belong for your own enjoyment (eg. charity organizations, political parties, community leagues, hobby oriented clubs, sports teams)? Please list up to three such organizations and indicate how many of the people in them are of Polish descent. *(Please circle one number for each organization you have listed)*

| | ALL OR NEARLY ALL | MORE THAN HALF | SOME BUT LESS THAN HALF | NONE OF THEM |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. _____ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. _____ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 3. _____ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

Is there anything else you would like to tell us about the topics dealt with in the questionnaire? If so, please use this space for that purpose.

Your contribution to this project is very greatly appreciated. If you would like a summary of the results, write "Copy of results requested", together with your name and address, on the back of the return envelope (NOT on the questionnaire). We will make sure that you get it.

## APPENDIX 2

## Questionnaire - Polish language version

# KANADA JAKO TWÓJ NOWY DOM

## BADANIE POLSKICH IMIGRANTÓW W EDMONTON

University of Alberta

*DEPARTMENT OF EARTH AND ATMOSPHERIC SCIENCES*
*EDMONTON • ALBERTA • T6G 2H4 • (403) 492-5624*

PIERWSZA CZĘŚĆ KWESTIONARIUSZA DOTYCZY PAŃSTWA STOSUNKU DO PROBLEMÓW ZWIĄZANYCH Z TOŻSAMOŚCIĄ NARODOWĄ

P-1 Uważa się Pan/Pani za...? *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer)*

1 POLAKA / POLKĘ

2 POLSKIEGO KANADYJCZYKA / KANADYJKĘ

3 KANADYJCZYKA / KANADYJKĘ POLSKIEGO POCHODZENIA

4 KANADYJCZYKA / KANADYJKĘ

P-2 Jak by Pan/Pani określił(a) pochodzenie swoich bliskich znajomych (wyłączając rodzinę i osoby z którymi utrzymuje Pan/Pani tylko kontakty zawodowe)? *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer)*

1 PRAKTYCZNIE WSZYSCY MOI ZNAJOMI TO POLSCY IMIGRANCI

2 WIĘKSZOŚĆ MOICH ZNAJOMYCH TO POLSCY IMIGRANCI. ZNAM JEDNAK KILKU KANADYJCZYKÓW NIEPOLSKIEGO POCHODZENIA, Z KTÓRYMI LUBIĘ SPĘDZAĆ WOLNY CZAS

3 ZNAM TYLE SAMO POLAKÓW CO KANADYJCZYKÓW NIEPOLSKIEGO POCHODZENIA

4 WIĘKSZOŚĆ MOICH ZNAJOMYCH TO KANADYJCZYCY NIEPOLSKIEGO POCHODZNIA. ZNAM JEDNAK KILKU POLSKICH IMIGRANTÓW, Z KTÓRYMI LUBIĘ SPĘDZAĆ WOLNY CZAS

5 PRAKTYCZNIE WSZYSCY MOI ZNAJOMI TO KANADYJCZYCY POCHODZENIA INNEGO NIŻ POLSKIE

P-3 Polscy imigranci mają różne zdania na temat wyjazdów do Polski. Proszę zaznaczyć odpowiedź, która najlepiej określa Pana/Pani stosunek do tej sprawy. Pytanie to nie dotyczy wyjazdów służbowych ani nagłych wypadków rodzinnych. *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer)*

1 NIE SĄDZĘ ŻEBYM KIEDYKOLWIEK CHCIAŁ(A) ODWIEDZIĆ POLSKĘ

2 CHCIAŁ(A)BYM POJECHAĆ DO POLSKI RAZ NA JAKIŚ CZAS. POLSKA JEST JEDNAK DLA MNIE TYLKO JEDNYM Z WIELU MIEJSC, W KTÓRYCH CHCIAŁ(A)BYM SPĘDZIĆ WAKACJE

3 MIMO, ŻE JEST WIELE MIEJSC, DO KTÓRYCH CHCIAŁ(A)BYM POJECHAĆ, POLSKA JEST MOIM ULUBIONYM CELEM WYJAZDÓW. CHCIAŁ(A)BYM JEŹDZIĆ DO POLSKI TAK CZĘSTO JAK TYLKO JEST TO MOŻLIWE

4 GDYBYM TYLKO MÓGŁ(MOGŁA), CHCIAŁ(A)BYM WIĘKSZOŚĆ CZASU SPĘDZAĆ W POLSCE LUB NAWET PRZENIEŚĆ SIĘ TAM NA STAŁE

P-4 Które z poniższych stwierdzeń najlepiej charakteryzuje Pana/Pani kontakty z każdą z czterech wymienionych grup osób mieszkających w Polsce? *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer dla każdej grupy osób)*

| | Nie utrzymuje żadnych kontaktów | Utrzymuje sporadyczne kontakty (np. wyrywkowe pocztówka raz na jakiś czas) | Utrzymuje średnio intensywne kontakty (kilka telefonów lub listów na rok) | Utrzymuje bardzo intensywne kontakty (co najmniej jeden telefon lub list na miesiąc) | Nie mam żadnej z tych osób w Polsce |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Najbliższa rodzina (rodzice, rodzeństwo, mąż/żona, dzieci) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Pozostali krewni | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Najbliżsi znajomi | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Dalsi znajomi | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

P-5 Jak określił(a)by Pan/Pani swoje zainteresowanie bieżącymi wydarzeniami w Polsce? *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer)*

1 ZUPEŁNIE NIE INTERESUJE MNIE TO, CO SIĘ OBECNIE DZIEJE W POLSCE

2 NIE SZUKAM CELOWO ŻADNYCH INFORMACJI NA TEMAT POLSKI. Z ZAINTERESOWANIEM POSŁUCHAŁ(A)BYM JEDNAK BIEŻĄCYCH WIADOMOŚCI O POLSCE W ŚRODKACH MASOWEGO PRZEKAZU LUB OD ZNAJOMYCH POLAKÓW

3 JESTEM ZAINTERESOWANY(A) OGÓLNIE DOSTĘPNYMI WIADOMOŚCIAMI NA TEMAT POLSKI. CZASAMI NAWET SAM(A) STARAM SIĘ ZDOBYĆ WYBRANE INFORMACJE

4 STARAM SIĘ BYĆ ZAWSZE NA BIEŻĄCO POINFORMOWANY(A) O GŁÓWNYCH POLITYCZNYCH I KULTURALNYCH WYDARZENIACH W POLSCE

KOLEJNE PYTANIA BĘDĄ DOTYCZYŁY PAŃSTWA ZNAJOMOŚCI JĘZYKA POLSKIEGO I ANGIELSKIEGO ORAZ UŻYWANIA TYCH JĘZYKÓW W RÓŻNYCH SYTUACJACH.

P-6 Jak by Pan/Pani określił(a) swoją znajomość języka polskiego? *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer dla każdej kategorii)*

| | W OGÓLE | SŁABO | ŚREDNIO | DOBRZE | BARDZO DOBRZE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mówiony | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Czytany | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Pisany | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Rozumiany | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

P-7 Jak by Pan/Pani określił(a) swoją znajomość języka angielskiego? *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer dla każdej kategorii)*

| | W OGÓLE | SŁABO | ŚREDNIO | DOBRZE | BARDZO DOBRZE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mówiony | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Czytany | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Pisany | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Rozumiany | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

P-8 Jak określił(a)by Pan/Pani swoją umiejętność posługiwania się mówionym językiem angielskim? *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer)*

1 PO ANGIELSKU MÓWIĘ PŁYNNIE, BEZ WYCZUWALNEGO AKCENTU I JESTEM W STANIE POROZUMIEĆ SIĘ NA KAŻDY TEMAT

2 PO ANGIELSKU JESTEM W STANIE SWOBODNIE ROZMAWIAĆ NA WIĘKSZOŚĆ TEMATÓW, MAM JEDNAK WYCZUWALNY AKCENT I CZASAMI BRAKUJE MI ODPOWIEDNICH SŁÓW I WYRAŻEŃ

3 TRUDNO JEST MI SIĘ POROZUMIEĆ PO ANGIELSKU, SZCZEGÓLNIE NA OBCE MI TEMATY. WYMAGA TO ODE MNIE PEWNEGO WYSIŁKU, JEDNAK W CODZIENNYCH SPRAWACH ZWYKLE UDAJE MI SIĘ POROZUMIEĆ

4 NAWET W CODZIENNEJ ROZMOWIE BARDZO TRUDNO JEST MI SIĘ POROZUMIEĆ PO ANGIELSKU

P-9 Jak określił(a)by Pan/Pani język polski, którego używa Pan/Pani w rozmowach? *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer)*

1 STARAM SIĘ MÓWIĆ PO POLSKU W SPOSÓB, W JAKI MÓWIŁEM(AM) PRZED WYJAZDEM Z KRAJU

2 MIMO, ŻE MÓJ JĘZYK POLSKI NIE ZMIENIŁ SIE ZASADNICZO OD CZASU WYJAZDU Z KRAJU, TO JEDNAK ZDARZA MI SIE CZASAMI UŻYWAĆ ANGIELSKICH SŁÓW I ZWROTÓW W ROZMOWACH PROWADZONYCH PO POLSKU

3 MÓJ JĘZYK POLSKI ULEGŁ WYRAŹNEJ ZMIANIE ODKĄD WYJECHAŁEM(AM) Z KRAJU. W ROZMOWACH PROWADZONYCH PO POLSKU CZĘSTO UŻYWAM ANGIELSKICH SŁÓW I ZWROTÓW, ORAZ MIESZAM POLSKIE I ANGIELSKIE STRUKTURY GRAMATYCZNE

4 PRAWIE NIGDY NIE ROZMAWIAM PO POLSKU

P-10 Wybór języka nie zależy wyłącznie od jego znajomości, lecz również od osobistych upodobań. Chcielibyśmy dowiedzieć się, którego języka używają Państwo w wybranych codziennych sytuacjach. *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer dla każdego z wymienionych przypadków)*

| | TYLKO POLSKI | GŁÓWNIE POLSKI, TROCHĘ ANGIELSKI | POLSKI I ANGIELSKI W TYM SAMYM STOPNIU | GŁÓWNIE ANGIELSKI, TROCHĘ POLSKI | TYLKO ANGIELSKI |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jakiego języka używa Pan/ Pani w codziennych rozmowach w domu? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| W jakim języku zwykle Pan/Pani czyta niezawodową literaturę? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| W jakim języku zwykle Pan/Pani czyta gazety i czasopisma? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| W jakim języku są programy radiowe, których Pan/Pani zwykle słucha? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| W jakim języku są filmy, które Pan/Pani zwykle wypożycza? | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

W KOLEJNEJ CZĘŚCI KWESTIONARIUSZA CHCEMY DOWIEDZIEĆ SIĘ, W JAKI SPOSÓB OBCHODZĄ PAŃSTWO WYBRANE POLSKIE I KANADYJSKIE ŚWIĘTA

P-11 Niektóre znane w Polsce święta są obchodzone w Kanadzie w inny sposób lub innego dnia. Które z niżej wymienionych stwierdzeń najlepiej opisuje sposób, w jaki obchodzi Pan/Pani te święta? *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer dla każdego święta)*

| | Obchodzę to święto w taki sam sposób, w jaki obchodziłem je w Polsce | Sposób w jaki obchodzę to święto został znacznie zmieniony przez kanadyjskie tradycje | Przestałem obchodzić to święto po przyjeździe do Kanady | Nie obchodziłem tego święta w Polsce |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Boże Narodzenie | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Wielkanoc | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Wszystkich Świętych | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Dzień Zaduszny | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Dzień Matki | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Dzień Ojca | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

P-12 Niektóre popularne w Polsce święta są całkowicie nieznane w Kanadzie. Proszę zaznaczyć, które z niżej wymienionych stwierdzeń najlepiej oddaje sposób, w jaki Pan/Pani obchodzi te święta. *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer dla każdego święta)*

| | Obchodzę to święto w taki sam sposób, w jaki obchodziłem je w Polsce | W dalszym ciągu obchodzę to święto, jednak w inny sposób niż w Polsce | Przestałem obchodzić to święto po przyjeździe do Kanady | Nie obchodziłem tego święta w Polsce |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dzień Kobiet | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Dzień Dziecka | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Dzień Babci | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Dzień Dziadka | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Imieniny | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Lany Poniedziałek | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

P-13 Niektóre święta popularne w Kanadzie nie są znane w Polsce. Proszę zaznaczyć, które z niżej wymienionych stwierdzeń najlepiej oddaje sposób w jaki Pan/Pani obchodzi te święta. *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer dla każdego święta)*

| | Nie obchodzę tego święta | Uczestniczę w obchodach tego święta tylko jeśli zostanę przez kogoś zaproszony | Obchodzę to święto, jednak nie czuję się emocjonalnie z nim związany | Obchodzę to święto i czuję się silnie związany z jego tradycją |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Thanksgiving | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Canada Day | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| St. Patrick's Day | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Remembrance Day | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Victoria Day | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

PROSIMY O UDZIELENIE ODPOWIEDZI NA KILKA PYTAŃ DOTYCZĄCYCH PAŃSTWA SPOSOBÓW ODŻYWIANIA SIĘ ORAZ SPĘDZANIA WOLNEGO CZASU. ODPOWIEDZI NA TE PYTANIA POMOGĄ NAM LEPIEJ ZROZUMIEĆ CODZIENNE ŻYCIE POLAKÓW W KANADZIE

P-14 Które z niżej wymienionych stwierdzeń najlepiej opisuje Pana/Pani sposób odżywiania się? *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer)*

1 MOJA DIETA NIE RÓŻNI SIĘ ZASADNICZO OD TEJ, KTÓRĄ MIAŁEM W POLSCE

2 MOJA DIETA SKŁADA SIĘ W PRZEWAŻAJĄCEJ CZĘŚCI Z POLSKICH POTRAW, WIDAĆ W NIEJ JEDNAK PEWNE WPŁYWY KANADYJSKIEJ KUCHNI

3 MOJA DIETA ZAWIERA NIEWIELE POLSKICH POTRAW

P-15 Po osiedleniu się w innym kraju sposób odżywiania się niektórych osób często ulega znacznym zmianom. Biorąc pod uwagę Pana/Pani osobiste doświadczenia, proszę zaznaczyć w jakim stopniu zgadzają się Państwo z poniższymi stwierdzeniami. *(Proszę zakreślić numer, który najlepiej odpowiada Pana/Pani zdaniu na dany temat)*

| | ZUPEŁNIE SIĘ NIE ZGADZAM | NIE ZGADZAM SIĘ | OBOJĘTNY | ZGADZAM SIĘ | CAŁKOWICIE SIĘ ZGADZAM |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Po przyjeździe do Kanady zacząłem jeść więcej owoców i warzyw | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Duży wybór potraw pochodzących z różnych krajów, który jest dostępny w Kanadzie, ma wyraźny wpływ na moją dietę | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Zmiany w trybie życia po przyjeździe do Kanady spowodowały, że zacząłem używać mniej czasochłonnych sposobów przygotowywania posiłków | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Przygotowując posiłki używam mniej smalcu | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

P-16 Jedną z charakterystycznych cech polskiego sposobu odżywiania się jest picie herbaty. Który z wymienionych napojów najczęściej Pan/Pani pije w czasie głównych posiłków? *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer)*

1 HERBATA

2 KAWA

3 INNY NAPÓJ (Proszę napisać jaki) _____

P-17 Jak opisał(a)by Pan/Pani układ swoich głównych posiłków w ciągu typowego dnia? *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer)*

1 ŚNIADANIE - OBIAD - KOLACJA

2 ŚNIADANIE - LUNCH - DINNER

3 INNY (Proszę napisać jaki) _____

P-18 Przedstawiamy Państwu kilka stwierdzeń dotyczących sposobów spędzania wolnego czasu. Biorąc pod uwagę Polaków w Edmonton proszę wyrazić swoją opinię na temat niżej podanych wypowiedzi. *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer dla każdego stwierdzenia)*

| | ZUPEŁNIE SIĘ NIE ZGADZAM | NIE ZGADZAM SIĘ | OBOJĘTNY | ZGADZAM SIĘ | CAŁKOWICIE SIĘ ZGADZAM | NIE MAM ZDANIA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Polscy imigranci poświęcają znacznie mniej czasu sportom i rekreacji na świeżym powietrzu niż inni Kanadyjczycy | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| W przeciwieństwie do reszty Kanadyjczyków, polscy immigranci planując wolny czas przedkładają dobro rodziny nad swoimi osobistymi potrzebami | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Trudności związane z z faktem, że Polacy są imigrantami powodują, że mają oni mniej wolnego czasu niż inni Kanadyjczycy | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Zmęczenie po ciężkiej pracy sprawia, że Polscy imigranci czerpią mniej zadowolenia ze swojego wolnego czasu | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

P-19 Biorąc pod uwagę Pana/Pani *osobiste doświadczenia* od czasu osiedlenia się w Kanadzie, proszę zaznaczyć w jakim stopniu zgadza się Pan/Pani z podanymi stwierdzeniami dotyczącymi sposobu spędzania wolnego czasu. *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer dla każdego stwierdzenia)*

| | ZUPEŁNIE SIĘ NIE ZGADZAM | NIE ZGADZAM SIĘ | OBOJĘTNY | ZGADZAM SIĘ | CAŁKOWICIE SIĘ ZGADZAM |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wyposażenie miejsc przeznaczonych do rekreacji i wypoczynku w Kanadzie ma dodatni wpływ na jakość mojego wypoczynku | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| W Kanadzie, spędzając swój wolny czas mniej obawiam się o bezpieczeństwo osobiste, niż obawiałem się w Polsce | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Dostęp do wygodnych środków transportu w Kanadzie ma dodatni wpływ na jakość mojego wypoczynku | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Chciałbym mieć więcej kontaktów towarzyskich z Kanadyjczykami niepolskiego pochodzenia | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

P-20 Proszę podać do trzech Pana/Pani *ulubionych* sposobów spędzania wolnego czasu.

1 _____

2 _____

3 _____

P-21 Proszę podać do trzech sposobów spędzania wolnego czasu, w których *najczęściej bierze Pan/Pani udział.*

1 _____

2 _____

3 _____

P-22 Istnieje wiele powodów, dla których ludzie wybierają takie a nie inne sposoby rekreacji. Biorąc pod uwagę sposoby spędzania wolnego czasu, w których bierze Pan/Pani udział, proszę podać jak ważny jest każdy z niżej wymienionych powodów? *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer dla każdej kategorii)*

| | BEZ ZNACZENIA | DOŚĆ WAŻNE | WAŻNE | BARDZO WAŻNE |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dla odprężenia | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Aby przebywać w miłym otoczeniu | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Dla kontaktu z naturą | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Aby zapomnieć o trudnościach życia codziennego | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Aby spędzać czas z rodziną | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Aby utrzymywać polskie tradycje | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Aby mieć kontakty z polską społecznością | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Aby nawiązać kontakty z Kanadyjczykami niepolskiego pochodzenia | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Dla prestiżu | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Żeby zwiedzić kraj | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Żeby poprawić znajomość języka angielskiego (oglądając telewizję lub czytając książki / gazety) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Żeby spędzać wolny czas podobnie do większości Kanadyjczyków | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Aby nawiązać przydatne w pracy kontakty | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Żeby utrzymywać dobre stosunki ze współpracownikami | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Żeby poprawić swoje samopoczucie poprzez przebywanie z innymi Polakami | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| W celu zdobycia wiedzy lub umiejętności | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Dla zdrowia lub sprawności fizycznej | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

P-23 Czy istnieje jakiś rodzaj rekreacji, w którym nie bierze, a chciał(a)by Pan/Pani brać udział? *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer)*

1 NIE → Proszę przejść do P-25

2 TAK

P-24 Proszę wymienić do trzech rodzajów rekreacji, w których chciał(a)by Pan/Pani zacząć brać udział.

_____

_____

_____

P-25 Istnieje wiele powodów, dla których ludzie nie biorą udziału w pewnych rodzajach rekreacji lub uczestniczą w nich w mniejszym stopniu niż chcieliby. Biorąc pod uwagę Pana/Pani sposoby spędzania wolnego czasu, jak istotna jest dla Pana/Pani każda z niżej wymienionych przeszkód? *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer dla każdej kategorii)*

| | BEZ ZNACZENIA | DOŚĆ WAŻNE | WAŻNE | BARDZO WAŻNE |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Brak pieniędzy | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Brak czasu | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Kłopoty z dojazdem | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Nie wiem gdzie mogę uczestniczyć w tego rodzaju rekreacji | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Nie mam wystarczających umiejętności żeby brać udział w tego typu rekreacji | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Trudno jest mi znaleźć odpowiednie towarzystwo | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Jestem zbyt zmęczony po ciężkiej pracy | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Mam niewystarczającą kondycję fizyczną | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Nie czuję się swobodnie wśród Kanadyjczyków | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Uważam, że moja znajomość angielskiego jest niewystarczająca | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Mam nieodpowiednie warunki mieszkaniowe | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Nie mam stałych godzin pracy | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Nie mogę wziąć dłuższego urlopu | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

P-26 Czy istnieją jakieś rodzaje rekreacji, w których brał(a) Pan/Pani udział w Polsce, ale przestał(a) brać po przyjeździe do Kanady? Proszę wymienić do trzech tego typu sposobów spędzania wolnego czasu i podać powód ich zaprzestania.

| SPOSÓB SPĘDZANIA WOLNEGO CZASU | | POWÓD DLA KTÓREGO PRZESTAŁ(A) PAN/PANI BRAĆ W NIEJ UDZIAŁ |
|---|---|---|
| 1. _____ | → | 1. _____ |
| | | _____ |
| 2. _____ | → | 2. _____ |
| | | _____ |
| 3. _____ | → | 3. _____ |
| | | _____ |

P-27 Czy istnieją jakieś rodzaje rekreacji, w których nie brał(a) Pan/Pani udziału w Polsce, a zaczął(ęła) brać udział po przyjeździe do Kanady? Proszę wymienić do trzech tego typu sposobów spędzania wolnego czasu.

_____

_____

_____

## W TEJ CZĘŚCI KWESTIONARIUSZA PRAGNIEMY POZNAĆ PAŃSTWA OPINIĘ NA TEMAT POLSKICH ORGANIZACJI, FIRM ORAZ AGENCJI W EDMONTON

P-28 Przedstawiamy Państwu kilka opinii na temat organizacji polonijnych działających w Edmonton. Proszę zaznaczyć w jakim stopniu zgadza się Pan/Pani z poniższymi stwierdzeniami. *(Proszę zakreślić numer, który najlepiej odpowiada Pana/Pani zdaniu na dany temat)*

| | ZUPEŁNIE SIĘ NIE ZGADZAM | NIE ZGADZAM SIĘ | OBOJĘTNY | ZGADZAM SIĘ | CAŁKOWICIE SIĘ ZGADZAM | NIE POTRAFIĘ OCENIĆ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Organizacje polonijne dobrze reprezentują polskich imigrantów | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Organizacje polonijne prowadzą działalność użyteczną dla polskiej społeczności. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Organizacje polonijne znacząco pomagały nowym przybyszom z Polski | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

| | ZUPEŁNIE SIĘ NIE ZGADZAM | NIE ZGADZAM SIĘ | OBOJETNY | ZGADZAM SIĘ | CAŁKOWICIE SIĘ ZGADZAM | NIE POTRAFIĘ OCENIĆ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Organizacje polonijne nie skupiają wokół siebie dobrze wykształconych osób w młodym lub średnim wieku | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Osoby zasiadajace w zarządach organizacji polonijnych nie przywiązują wagi do potrzeb najnowszej fali polskiej imigracji | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Organizacje polonijne skupiają wokół siebie osoby, które nie czują się dobrze poza polskim środowiskiem | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

P-29 Proszę określić, jak ważne jest dla Pana/Pani ...
*(Prosze zakreślić jedn numer dla każdego rodzaju czynności)*

| | BEZ ZNACZENIA | DOŚĆ WAŻNE | WAŻNE | BARDZO WAŻNE |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Uczestnictwo w polskich imprezach kulturalnych | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Chodzenie na polskie koncerty | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Odwiedzanie polskich klubów nocnych/dyskotek | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Chodzenie do polskich restauracji | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Aktywny udział w polskich organizacjach kulturalnych i etnicznych | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Aktywny udział w polskich klubach rekreacyjnych lub sportowych | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

P-30 W Edmonton istnieje wiele firm i agencji, w których pracują osoby mówiące po polsku. Proszę określić, jakie znaczenie ma dla Pana/Pani dostęp do wymienionych usług oferowanych przez Polaków. *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer dla każdego rodzaju usług)*

| | BEZ ZNACZENIA | DOŚĆ WAŻNE | WAŻNE | BARDZO WAŻNE |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lekarze | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Dentyści | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Prawnicy | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Biura podróży | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Agencje ubezpieczeniowe | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Agencje handlu nieruchomościami | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

P-31 W Edmonton, polskie produkty żywnościowe dostępne są w wielu sklepach. Które z niżej wymienionych stwierdzeń najlepiej określa to, gdzie Pan/Pani kupuje żywność? *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer)*

1 POZA ARTYKUŁAMI, KTÓRYCH NIE MOŻNA TAM DOSTAĆ, CAŁĄ ŻYWNOŚĆ KUPUJĘ W POLSKICH SKLEPACH

2 DUŻĄ CZĘŚĆ MOICH ZAKUPÓW ROBIĘ W POLSKICH SKLEPACH. CZĘSTO JEDNAK KUPUJĘ ŻYWNOŚĆ GDZIE INDZIEJ

3 W POLSKICH SKLEPACH KUPUJĘ WYŁĄCZNIE ARTYKUŁY, KTÓRYCH NIE MOGĘ DOSTAĆ GDZIE INDZIEJ

4 PRAWIE NIGDY NIE KUPUJĘ W POLSKICH SKLEPACH

## KOLEJNE PYTANIA DOTYCZĄ PAŃSTWA OPINII O TYM, JAK POLACY POSTRZEGANI SĄ PRZEZ POZOSTAŁYCH MIESZKAŃCÓW KANADY

P-32 Czy spotkał(a) się Pan/Pani kiedykolwiek z podanymi przykładami dyskryminacji wywołanymi Pana/Pani *akcentem, faktem bycia imigrantem,* lub Pana/Pani *polskim pochodzeniem?* Proszę zaznaczyć jak często, jeżeli w ogóle, doswiadczył(a) Pan / Pani wymienionych przykładów dyskryminacji. *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer dla każdego przykładu)*

| | NIGDY SIĘ NIE SPOTKAŁEM | JEDEN RAZ | CZASAMI | CZĘSTO | BARDZO CZĘSTO |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Odmówiono mi przyjęcia do pracy | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Odmówiono mi wynajęcia mieszkania/domu lub zakwaterowania | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Odmówiono mi usługi | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Ubliżono mi lub ośmieszono mnie | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Potraktowano mnie lekceważąco | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Tłumaczono mi rzeczy oczywiste | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Pytano sie mnie "Skąd jesteś" lub "Skąd przyjechałeś?" w niemiły sposób | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Mówiono do mnie przesadnie wolno i wyraźnie | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Opowiadano w mojej obecności antypolskie dowcipy | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Pokazywano lub przysyłano mi antypolską prasę lub literaturę | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Zaatakowano mnie fizycznie | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Moje mienie padło ofiarą wandalizmu | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

P-33 Czy były sytuacje, w których czuł(a) się Pan/Pani nieprzyjemnie z powodu faktu bycia imigrantem lub z powodu swojego akcentu? Proszę zaznaczyć jak często, jeżeli w ogóle, takie sytuacje zdarzały się w każdym z wymienionych miejsc.
*(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer dla każdego miejsca)*

| | NIGDY SIĘ NIE SPOTKAŁEM | JEDEN RAZ | CZASAMI | CZĘSTO | BARDZO CZĘSTO |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| W pracy | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Na ulicy lub w środkach transportu | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| W biurach rządowych | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| W prywatnych biurach | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| W kontaktach z policją | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| W supermarketach lub innych dużych sklepach | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| W małych sklepikach | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| W bankach | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| W szkole lub na uniwersytecie | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| W hotelach lub motelach | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| W ośrodkach wypoczynkowych | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| W restauracjach | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| W parkach i innych publicznie dostępnych miejscach rekreacji | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| W prywatnych klubach | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Na przyjęciach lub zabawach | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Uczestnicząc w sportach | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

P- 34 Niektórzy uważają, że wiek, wykształcenie oraz zamożność mają wpływ na skłonności do etnicznych uprzedzeń i rasistowskich zachowań. Z Pana/Pani własnych doświadczeń wynika, że najczęściej spotyka się ludzi źle nastawionych do imigrantów wśród: *(Proszę zakreślić jedną odpowiedź dla każdej sekcji)*

Sekcja A:

1 OSÓB ZAMOŻNYCH
2 OSÓB UBOGICH
3 STAN MAJĄTKOWY NIE MA NA TO WPŁYWU
4 NIE MAM ZDANIA

Sekcja B:

1 OSÓB WYKSZTAŁCONYCH
2 OSÓB NIEWYKSZTAŁCONYCH
3 POZIOM WYKSZTAŁCENIA NIE MA NA TO WPŁYWU
4 NIE MAM OPINII

Sekcja C:

1 NASTOLATKÓW LUB DZIECI
2 MŁODYCH OSÓB DOROSŁYCH
3 OSÓB W ŚREDNIM WIEKU
4 OSÓB STARSZYCH
5 WIEK NIE MA NA TO WPŁYWU
6 NIE MAM ZDANIA

**NA ZAKOŃCZENIE CHCIELIBYŚMY UZYSKAĆ KILKA INFORMACJI O PANU / PANI. BĘDĄ ONE WYKORZYSTANE JEDYNIE DO CELÓW STATYSTYCZNYCH I, PODOBNIE JAK POZOSTAŁE PYTANIA W KWESTIONARIUSZU, BĘDĄ TRAKTOWANE JAKO CAŁKOWICIE POUFNE**

P-35 Czy jest Pan/Pani kobietą czy mężczyzną? *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer)*

1 MĘŻCZYZNA
2 KOBIETA

P-36 W którym roku urodził(a) się Pan/Pani?

19_____

P-37 Jaki jest Pana/Pani stan cywilny? *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer)*

1 WOLNY / WOLNA → Proszę przejść do P-39
2 ŻONATY/ ZAMĘŻNA (LUB ŻYJĄCY(A) W KONKUBINACIE) → Proszę przejść do P-38

P-38 Jakie jest pochodzenie etniczne Pana/Pani współmałżonka? *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer)*

1 URODZONY(A) W POLSCE
2 URODZONY(A) W KANADZIE, ALE POLSKIEGO POCHODZENIA
3 POCHODZENIA INNEGO NIŻ POLSKIE

P-39 Jak długo jest Pan/Pani w Kanadzie? *(Proszę zaznaczyć liczbę lat)*

_____

P-40 Czy jest Pan/Pani obecnie zatrudniony(a) lub czy był(a) Pan/Pani zatrudniony(a) w ciągu ostatnich sześciu miesięcy? *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer)*

1 NIE ⟶ Proszę przejść do P-42

2 TAK

P-41 Jakie jest minimalne wykształcenie niezbędne żeby zostać zatrudnionym i zadowalająco wykonywać obowiązki na stanowisku, na którym Pan/Pani pracuje (pracował/a). Jeśli prowadzi (prowadził/a) Pan/Pani prywatną firmę, proszę zaznaczyć wykształcenie, które Pana/Pani zdaniem jest do tego niezbędne. *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer)*

1 SZKOŁA PODSTAWOWA
(Elementary school)

2 NIŻSZA SZKOŁA ŚREDNIA
(Junior high school)

3 SZKOŁA ŚREDNIA
(High school)

4 STUDIUM TECHNICZNE LUB ZAWODOWE
(Technical or vocational program)

5 STUDIA WYŻSZE
(Undergraduate program)

6 STUDIA MAGISTERSKIE LUB DOKTORANCKIE
(Graduate program)

P-42 W której z niżej wymienionych kategorii zakwalifikował(a)by Pan/Pani swój roczny dochód przed podatkiem? *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer)*

1 PONIŻEJ $10,000

2 $10,001 DO $20,000

3 $20,001 DO $40,000

4 $40,001 DO $60,000

5 POWYŻEJ $60,001

P-43 Jaki jest najwyższy poziom wykształcenia, który uzyskał(a) Pan/Pani <u>w Polsce</u>? *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer)*

1 UKOŃCZONA SZKOŁA PODSTAWOWA LUB MNIEJ

2 UKOŃCZONA SZKOŁA ZAWODOWA

3 NIE UKOŃCZONA SZKOŁA ŚREDNIA LUB TECHNIKUM

4 UKOŃCZONA SZKOŁA ŚREDNIA LUB TECHNIKUM
(Z OTRZYMANYM DYPLOMEM)

5 UKOŃCZONA SZKOŁA POMATURALNA

6 NIE UKOŃCZONE STUDIA WYŻSZE

7 UKOŃCZONE STUDIA WYŻSZE (Z OTRZYMANYM DYPLOMEM)

8 TYTUŁ DOKTORSKI LUB WYŻSZY

P-44 Z jakim kościołem lub wyznaniem był(a) Pan/Pani związany(a) w Polsce?
*(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer)*

1 RZYMSKO - KATOLICKIM
2 PRAWOSŁAWNYM
3 PROTESTANCKIM
4 INNYM CHRZEŚCIJAŃSKIM
5 MOJŻESZOWYM
6 MUZUŁMAŃSKIM
7 INNYM
8 NIE BYŁE(A)M ZWIĄZANY(A) Z ŻADNYM KOŚCIOŁEM ANI WYZNANIEM

P-45 Z jakim kościołem lub wyznaniem jest Pan/Pani teraz związany(a)?
*(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer)*

1 RZYMSKO - KATOLICKIM
2 PRAWOSŁAWNYM
3 PROTESTANCKIM
4 INNYM CHRZEŚCIJAŃSKIM
5 MOJŻESZOWYM
6 MUZUŁMAŃSKIM
7 INNYM
8 NIE CZUJĘ SIĘ ZWIĄZANY(A) Z ŻADNYM KOŚCIOŁEM ANI WYZNIENIEM

P-46 Czy chodzi Pan/Pani często do któregokolwiek z polskich kościołów katolickich w Edmonton? *(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer)*

1 TAK
2 NIE

P-47 Czy należy Pan/Pani z własnego wyboru do jakichkolwiek formalnych lub nieformalnych grup lub organizacji (takich jak np: organizacje charytatywne, partie polityczne, kółka zainteresowań, drużyny sportowe)? Proszę wymienić do trzech takich organizacji i zaznaczyć jak wielu ich członków jest polskiego pochodzenia.
*(Proszę zakreślić jeden numer dla każdej wymienionej organizacji)*

| | WSZYSCY LUB PRAWIE WSZYSCY | PONAD POŁOWA | MNIEJ NIŻ POŁOWA | ŻADEN Z NICH |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. _____ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 2. _____ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 3. _____ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

Jeśli chcieliby Państwo dodać coś do tematów poruszanych w kwestionariuszu, miejsce poniżej jest do tego przeznaczone.

Jesteśmy Państwu niezwykle wdzięczni za pomoc w przeprowadzeniu tego badania. Jeśli życzyliby sobie Państwo otrzymać kopię rezultatów prosimy o zaznaczenie na odwrocie koperty zwrotnej wraz ze swoim nazwiskiem oraz adresem "Proszę o przesłanie wyników wydania". Prosimy NIE podawać swojego nazwiska i adresu NA KWESTIONARIUSZU. Zapewniamy, że otrzymają Państwo kopię wyników.